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WORK No. 138

THE AKBARNĀMA

(ENGLISH TRANSLATION)

THE AKBARNĀMA

OF

ABU-L-FAZL

(A HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF AKBAR INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS
PREDECESSORS)

TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN

BY

H. BEVERIDGE, I.C.S. (Retired), F.A.S.B.

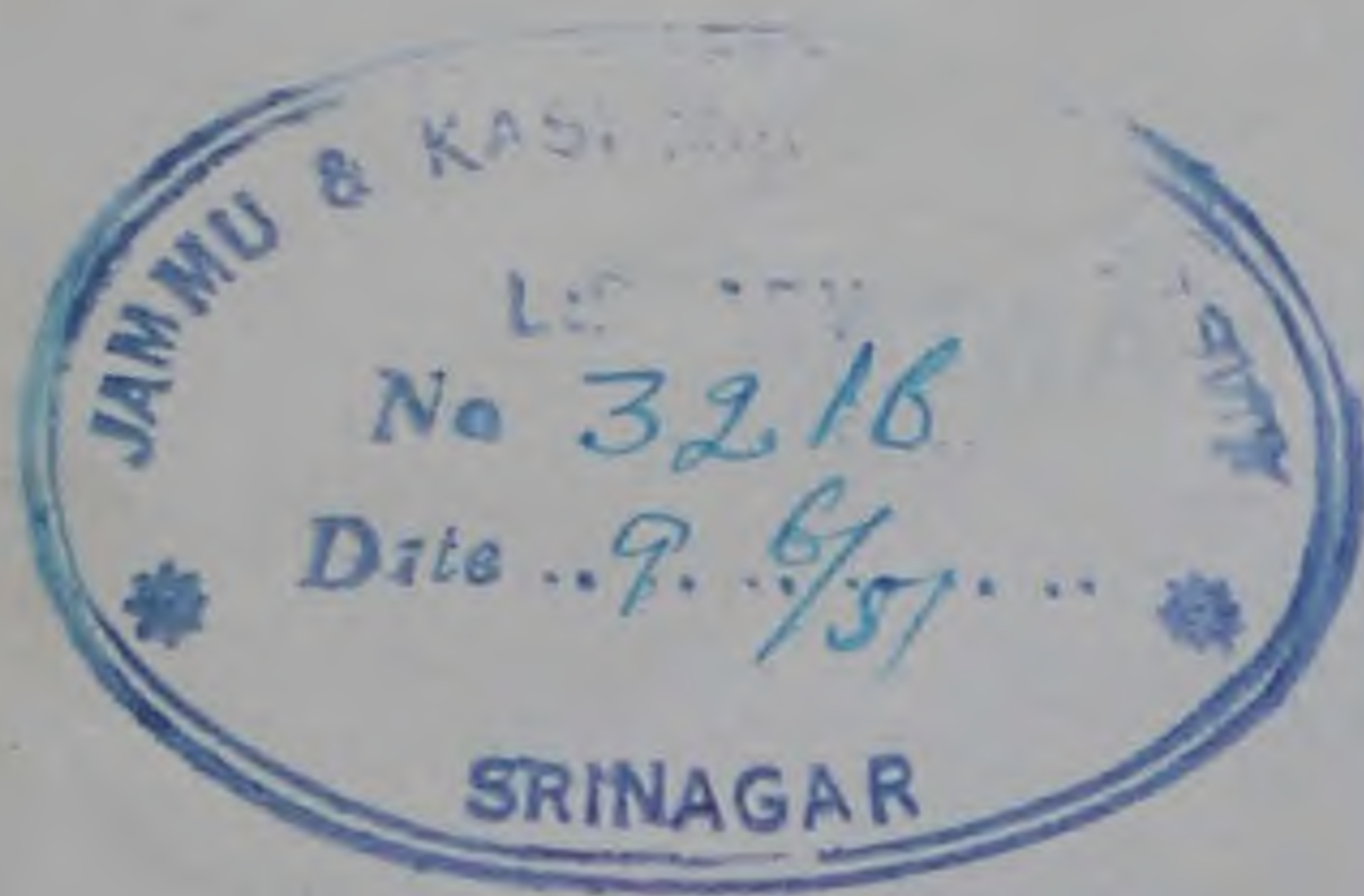
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FOREWORD

The completion of the final volume of the English translation of Akbarnāma by the late Henry Beveridge, I.C.S., has taken a long time. Mr. Beveridge completed the translation, and the last fascicle was issued in 1921. He also prepared the Index and passed pp. 1-32 of it for printing. Besides the Index, the Dedication, Introduction, Errata and Addenda to the volume and a Prefatory Note were completed before the death of the author in 1929. What was left to be accomplished was the correction, revision and printing of pp. 33-66 of the Index and other preliminary matters including the preparation of Lists of Contents, Abbreviations and additional Errata and Addenda to pp. 1-22 of the Index. Unfortunately this was not done due to a variety of causes, the most serious of which was a period of quiescence which occurred in the activities of the Society during this time. Thanks, however, to the initiative of Dr. Baini Prashad the incomplete portion of the work was taken up this year and the volume has now been completed. The work of Mr. D. K. Das, the press clerk, who laboured very hard to see it through the press, deserves special mention.

It is hoped that the reading public, while forgiving the delay of this publication, will appreciate the great erudition and care bestowed on it by Mr. Beveridge.

B. S. GUHA,

*Hon. General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

1, PARK STREET, CALCUTTA,

Septemder 4, 1939.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this book, being the third and concluding volume of my translation of the historical part of the *Akbarnāma*, to the memory of my father and mother and to my dear wife, Annette Susannah Beveridge.

H. BEVERIDGE.

PITFOLD,
SHOTTERMILL,
The 5th October, 1921.

INTRODUCTION

I have at last finished the translation of the historical part of the *Akbarnāma*. It has occupied me, with occasional interruptions, for over twenty years, and I must confess that the work has not been always congenial. In fact, I must say that I began it with a feeling of aversion. I had the idea that Abu-l-Fazl was a rhetorician and a shameless flatterer. And I admit that the feeling still remains. I must also say that his style, especially in the later volumes, is tortuous and obscure. Possibly, this is due to the loss, during the progress of the work, of Faizī, his elder brother, who was a poet and who revised part of the book, and who, presumably, improved Abu-l-Fazl's style. Left to himself, he may have adopted a still more stilted and archaic style which, perhaps, he picked up from 'Abdullah Waṣṣāf and others, with the result that he became even more obscure than he was originally. But I must go on to say that his indomitable industry, and his accuracy wherever he was not, from prudential motives, suppressing the truth, have at length overcome me, and I leave him with greater feelings of respect than I began with. After all, when everything has been said that can be said against Abu-l-Fazl, should we not be grateful to him for his book? If he had not given so many years of nights and days to his task, where would we have looked for a knowledge of many important facts of Indian history? And what a pity it is that Jehāngīr, Akbar's unworthy son, should have murdered the author, when he was approaching the end of his task and when there were not wanting signs that he was beginning to see that there were spots on his sun and that his idol had not worked out the beast!

I believe that I am indebted to my learned friend Dr. Hoernle, C.I.E., for having led me to undertake the translation of the *Akbarnāma*. He it was who, as Philological Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, set me on a task for which I, a poor *opsimath*, was very imperfectly fitted. I hope I have improved as

I went on, but the want of early training in scholarship can never be made good.

Since I finished the translation, I have been engaged in making the Index. Not that I have any skill in such work, but I have thought that if I did not do it, no one else was likely to undertake it, and that my translation, to use the expression quoted by Mr. Norton, the Indian Barrister, might remain a costly tool without a handle. So, I have begun it and have nearly got to the end of the letter M which is by far the biggest letter in an index to a Muḥammadan work. I have also made a list of Errata and Addenda. I am sorry that they are so many and so important, but it is satisfactory that I have found them and acknowledged them. I do not think that it would repay any one to read through my translation of the *Akbarnāma*, and I very much doubt if any one will do so. I think the world is too busy for this. What I would recommend is that somebody should abridge the book. He, or she, might profitably omit the horoscopes and the biographies of Akbar's real or imaginary predecessors and ancestors before Bābur. He might also omit the strings of names, the discussion about comets and a digression, in the third volume, into Persian History. He might also curtail occasional verbiage. On the other hand, he might, I think, add "The Sayings of Akbar" in Colonel Jarrett's translation, with perhaps some additions and corrections, and Abu-l-Fazl's account of his early struggles. He might also add, in the original Latin, Monserrate's description of Akbar's person, pp. 640-41 of his *Commentary*, A.S.B. edition. I am too old and feeble for such work and shall only say "*Exoriare aliquis nostris e vocibus auctor.*"

Abu-l-Fazl is not a picturesque writer, nor are his reflections profound or affecting. Very seldom does he make an interesting remark. He has not the charm of Herodotus, nor the outspokenness and raciness of the crabbed, bigoted and sinful Badāūnī. He seldom tells a story without spoiling it. See, for instance, the account of Akbar's chivalrous rescue of the Jodhpūr Rajah's daughter from a compulsory Satī. We are not told her name,

nor the length of Akbar's ride, nor any other of the little details which would have enhanced the interest of the narrative. Perhaps the best instance of his picturesqueness is the account of Rūpmatī's death, and his most sensible remark is that in the third volume where he says that the accounts of a battle are like the blind men's descriptions of an elephant.

On the other hand, Abu-l-Fazl's love for sources—the *Quellen* of the Germans—is far in advance of his age. To him we owe not only the *Akbarnāma* but also the *Memoirs* of Gulbadn Begam, Jauhar the ewer-bearer, Bajazat (Bāyazīd) Biyat and, perhaps, Nizāmu-d-dīn's history. But I have treated of this matter in a paper published in the J.P.A.S.B., Vol. XIV, 1918, p. 469.

I should also like to say something about Abu-l-Fazl's flattery of Akbar. It is gross, but it is not unnatural, and is in part the result of an honest hero-worship. We must remember the position of the two men. Akbar was emperor of India and a very remarkable man. He had raised Abu-l-Fazl and his family from indigence and obscurity to affluence and power. It must also be borne in mind that Akbar was the elder of the two men. He was born in October, 1542, and Abu-l-Fazl in January, 1550, so that there were seven years and more between them. Akbar therefore was in the position of an elder brother. This, when added to the attraction of Akbar's position as sovereign, was more than human nature could withstand. Even Badāūnī felt this I believe too that Abu-l-Fazl really thought that the fact of Akbar's ignorance of reading and writing, when combined with his mental gifts, placed him in the category of inspired beings or super-men and placed him on a level with such prodigies as Buddha, Zoroaster and Muḥammad, if indeed he was not superior to them. That Abu-l-Fazl really believed in Muḥammad's spiritual greatness, seems to be proved by his occasional involuntary ejaculations, and by the labour and cost which he bestowed on making copies of the Qorān and in publishing an elaborate commentary on it. It is also well-known that all orientals used to believe, and probably do so still, in mystics and fanatics. See also Akbar's own saying, Jarrett,

III, 385: "The prophets were all illiterate. Believers should therefore retain one of their sons in that condition." He did not, however, keep any of his three sons uneducated.

Abu-l-Fazl's general accuracy has been vindicated against Elphinstone, who has made a charge against him which is based on Elphinstone's own imperfect knowledge of Persian. I refer to a note in the latter's *History of India*, p. 452 of the 4th edition, 1857, which I have quoted at p. 731 of my translation; Elphinstone says there that A. F., after giving a full description of the disaster in Afghānistān, concludes by stating the loss at (only) 500 men. Now the work in the original for "men" is *kas*, and this in Persian has two meanings. Firstly, it means ordinary persons or "no-account men." Secondly, it means persons of distinction, that is, personages, and the context shows that the word is used here by A. F. in the secondary sense. On this point see Vullers' Dict., II, 831, where *kas* is rendered by *vir dignus*, and Richardson, 1008a. And that the 500 of A. F. here means 500 notables or men of rank, is sufficiently evidenced, I think, by the fact that Ferishta and Badāūnī, while stating the loss at 8,000 and more, make no comment on A. F.'s 500 which would have been quite contrary to their statements if *kas* had been understood by them to mean the total loss. Blochmann, too, in p. 345 of his *Āin* translation, has "500 officers fell." Here it may be remarked in passing that Blochmann has inadvertently said that the disaster took place in the Khyber. It should have been Kekur or Balandarī in the Yūsufzai country. A. F.'s character for accuracy is also supported by Monserrate's *Commentary* where he describes the campaign against Muḥammad Ḥakīm in Afghānistān. Indeed, the two accounts, A. F.'s in the *Akbarnāma* and Monserrate's in the *Commentary*, agree so well that one thinks they must have discussed the expedition together. Both of them were in it, but Monserrate's is fuller, and where he states something more than A. F. does, for example, where he describes the interview of Muḥammad Ḥakīm's sister with Akbar in Cabul, where she pleaded the cause of her brother, Monserrate's statement should be preferred.

Lord Macaulay, in his *History of England*, remarks: "To speak the whole truth concerning William Penn, is a task which requires some courage, for he is rather a mythical than a historical character. Rival nations and hostile sects have agreed in canonising him." A similar remark might be made about Akbar, and my point is not affected by doubts as to whether Sir James Makintosh and Macaulay were right in identifying the go-between in the affair of the pardons with the apostle of Pennsylvania. They may have been wrong. This is a question I am not competent to decide, but on account of my love and admiration for Macaulay's writings, I may be allowed to say that I have never seen any proof that Penn the intriguer and Penn the Quaker were two different persons. All I think that Macaulay's detractors have shown is that there was another Penn who dabbled in the political intrigues of the day, and that so he may have been the guilty person in the affair of the pardons. But proof that he was so, seems to be wanting. I admit, however, that Macaulay's note is not as conclusive as, perhaps, it might have been.

To return to Akbar. He certainly has been over-praised. He had charming qualities and had a keen intellect, but he was by no means a saint or a philosopher. He had by no means worked out the beast, and he had the defects of his age and race, and of his own idiosyncrasy. If regarded as a Man, who makes his moral being his first care, he was inferior to the bigoted Aurungzeb. After all, he was a Tārtār, or at best had Cingiz Khān blood in his veins. He was both ruthless and self-indulgent. The man who could order¹ a lamp-lighter to be flung over the battlements for the crime of having fallen asleep in an imperial bed, and could condemn some twenty children to death or idiocy because, like Psammaticus of Egypt, he could learn in this way what was man's primæval language,² and who could subject an officer to the agony of being thrown under the feet of

¹ See Asad Beg's Waqaya in Elliot's Hist., VI, 164.

² See Badāūnī's touching verse in Vol. II, 288 and in Lowe's translation, 296. Adam says in "Paradise Lost," Book X: "How gladly would I lay me down as in my mother's lap!"

an elephant even though the beast had been privately ordered not to kill him, was at heart a savage. This has been well put by my friend Vincent Smith in a note to p. 343 of his life of Akbar.

On another occasion, when he was on the banks of the Indus in 1581, he sent an officer to look for a ford. (Monserate, p. 582). The man went up-stream for 25 miles, but could not find a ford and was told by the villagers that there was not any ford in that part of the country and so he returned. But as Akbar found that he had not gone as far as he had directed him to go, he ordered him to be taken to the place he (Akbar) had mentioned to him, tied upon an inflated ox-hide and flung into the river! When this order was given practically the whole army turned out to see what would happen. The unfortunate man was carried down the stream, lamenting and crying for pardon. When he was passing the imperial tent he was taken out by Akbar's orders but his property was confiscated and he himself was publicly sold as a slave. A friend bought him in for eighty pieces of gold, taken, apparently, from the royal treasury, and he was eventually pardoned!

Akbar's order to the officer was that he should inquire if the Indus could be forded anywhere on horse-back. After Prince Jelālu-d-dīn's exploit in Cingiz Khān's time it was perhaps impossible to say that the Indus could not be crossed by cavalry. But it would seem that for practical purposes the Indus is unfordable either above or below Attock unless one goes very far up-stream. Even when the Indus or the Cabul river is fordable, they are liable to sudden freshets as shown by a melancholy experience near Jelālābād during the Afghān war. Major Rennell says in his *Memoir* of 1792, p. 98: "The Indus is sometimes fordable above Attock, but we never hear of its being fordable below."

The *Akbarnāma* tells us that on another occasion Akbar, in anger at a poor man coming into his presence drunk, had him drenched with cold water with the result that he eventually died of shock.

The love of cruelty for its own sake was a characteristic of

the age and race, and was shown in the chivalrous Bābur who had a man flayed alive and who had men killed by inches, and in the generally humane Humāyūn and in Akbar's son Jehāngīr who took pleasure in inventing new methods of killing people, such as causing them to be bitten by snakes and who inflicted the lingering death of impalement upon rebels, and added thereto the making his son witness the deaths of his followers. It is true that Akbar, after he became half a Hindu or half a Parsee, expressed horror at his son's cruelties, but it was Akbar who hanged the innocent Manṣūr Shīrāzī, and it was he who killed or connived at the killing of his old and once venerated teacher! There is ground for the current native view of Akbar that he was a man who could disembowel a pregnant woman in order to see what she carried in her bosom, even if it be not true that he actually did this.

I may add that if the tradition that Akbar buried the slave-girl Anārkalī (the pomegranate flower) alive for the crime of exchanging a glance with his son Selīm (afterwards Jehāngīr) be true, he committed an atrocity which excuses, if it does not justify, the son for making war upon him, and might even have excused an act of parricide.

The tomb and its touching inscription still exist, but the bigotry of a good but narrow-minded Bishop caused it to be removed from the mosque (now the English Church) into what the Imperial Gazetteer of India euphemistically calls "a repertory of Secretarial records," in plain language, a *daftarkhāna*, to lumber-room for waste paper! But perhaps Lord Curzon had the tomb removed to a more fitting place.

AKBAR'S SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCES.

Like many Eastern potentates Akbar had a feeling of the paltriness of life, and an interest in religion. His father and grandfather had similar emotions, and these were also felt by his grandfather's great antagonist—Shaibānī Khān of Samarkand. Unfortunately, Akbar, though a man of genius and one eager in the quest of truth, was less educated than were his ancestors. He

could not even read and write. He had been told, perhaps, that the apostle Muḥammad was an ignorant man and this may have encouraged him to neglect studies. There also seems to be no doubt that for an oriental he was of singularly slow development. As a boy, he seems to have passed most of his time in amusements such as pigeon-flying, and in good eating. This, apparently, is what Abu-l-Faẓl means when he so often says that Akbar remained long under the veil. When he grew up, his flatterers told him that his educational deficiencies were an advantage. But he came too late into the world to play the part of an ignorant and inspired prophet, even if he had not been born in too high a position of power and responsibility to be fitted for it. It is probable that if he had known to read and write he would have been saved from one of his worst blunders and crimes, that of his putting to death the innocent and able Persian Shāh Manṣūr. For then he would have been able to detect the forgeries which caused the condemnation. Such knowledge also might have saved him from his rash interference with chronology. It is creditable to Akbar that he endeavoured to give a good education to his sons.

Like most religious innovators, he began by being very orthodox. Having been brought up as a Muḥammadan he began by being pious and very observant of the rules of the Qorān. Religion was in the air when he came to the throne and he strove to imitate the ceremonial exercises of Sulaimān Kararānī the ruler of Bengal and the other Sulaimān who was ruler of Badakhshān. This feeling continued to influence Akbar for many years, and Nizāmu-d-dīn, the excellent and orthodox historian, tells us in his account of the 24th and 25th years of the reign that Akbar at that time used to join in the public prayers five times a day. See p. 344 of Newal Keshore's lithographed edition of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. Akbar, indeed, continued his practices of outward devotion long after he had ceased to be a believer. See the accounts of his public devotion to an alleged Holy Stone, and his repeated visits to the Ajmere shrine. And Monserrate tells us that he had a private oratory carried about with him during his

advance into Afghānistān, though it disappeared during his return journey. Probably this was used for quasi Christian practices such as an adoration of the Virgin Mary, and also for Parsee rites.

A REMARKABLE INCIDENT IN AKBAR'S LIFE.

In May 1578 and the 23rd year of the reign, 14 Šafr 986 A.H. he had a strange experience which is described in the third volume of the *Akbarnāma*, see my note p. 345, and also Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad's history and in Badāūnī. Akbar had arranged to hold a great circular hunting-drive which is called by a word which is half Arabic and half Persian (*Qamargāh*) *qamar* being Arabic for the moon, and *gāh*, which is Persian for place. Birds and beasts had been gathered together, for miles round near the river Jhelam in a place called Nandana in the Pind Dādan *Khān tahsil* of the Jhelam district of the Punjab. Suddenly, a change came over Akbar and he ordered every bird and beast to be released and the hunting arrangements to be abandoned. It was not known what had caused this change, but it was supposed to be a case of *jazba* or spiritual attraction. It was supposed that he had had a vision, or that some hermit had visited him. Shortly afterwards his mother came from Fathpūr Sikrī to see him. Probably, she had been alarmed at the news about her son, as it had caused a good deal of public commotion. The result was that he gave up further progress into the Punjab and went back with his mother to Fathpūr Sikrī. The incident reminds one of the "Tolle lege tolle lege" as St. Augustine's confessions. Both took place in a forest, and both were cases of a sudden conversion, or of a conviction of sin. But the two were not of equal value. St. Augustine's resulted in purification and change of life. Akbar's was less lasting and less beneficial. It does not appear that he led a better life afterwards or that it had any other effect upon himself or the world than to increase his self-conceit and to lead him to the fantastic attempt to establish a new Religion, the Divine Faith, which died out after his death. He was about the same age as St. Augustine when the change came to them both. But Akbar was not a student and he was

more tied and bound by the chain of his sins and his position than was Augustine. His life too was probably far more worn. He was thirty-four or so when the *jazba* occurred, and St. Augustine was two or three years younger when the change came to him.

It will be seen that the attractive incident took place before the arrival of the Jesuit Mission.

I fear that Akbar was too much tied and bound with the chain of his sins—the sin which doth so easily beset us—and also by his regard for his wives of whom he had more than 300, to accept Father Rudolf's exhortations. Indeed who but a young and impetuous fanatic like the Duke's son could expect him to do so. I doubt very much if Monserrate made similar demands on the emperor.

THE JESUIT MISSION TO AKBAR.

There was a great discovery in our knowledge of Akbar's character and of his campaign in Afghānistān when Canon Firminger found the original Latin edition of Father Monserrate's commentaries in the Library of the Calcutta Cathedral. How General Maclagon would have been delighted if he had met in with the volume! But it fell into good hands when Canon Firminger discovered it in 1906 and when Father Hosten, S.J., edited it in 1914. The history of the MS. is a curious one, but is not yet completely known. Father Anthony Monserrate, the author, was a Spaniard and was born in Catalonia in 1536. His father was personally acquainted with Ignatius Loyola, and Anthony became a member of the S.J. In 1574 he embarked for India. He and Father Rudolf were the two missionaries who were sent to Akbar at his request to instruct him on the Bible. They left Goa in November 1579, and arrived at the Court in Fathpūr Sikrī in February 1580 and had an audience early in March. Rudolf was an Italian and of noble descent, his father having been Duke of Atri in the Abruzzi and his paternal uncle Claude Aquaviva being General of the Jesuits. Rudolf was born in October 1550 so that he was 15 or 16 years younger than Monserrate. The two missionaries lived together for a good while but in February 1581 Monserrate accompanied Akbar in his

expedition to the Punjab and Afghānistān. See Commentary p. 580. In November 1582 Akbar and Monserrate returned to Fathpūr Sikrī. Rudolf, who had joined Akbar at Lahore, also came back with him. In May 1583 Rudolf took leave of Akbar and went to Goa, and in July of that year he was killed by the villagers. May 1583 is given in Father Goldin's book (Chronology Table) as the date of Rudolf's return, but Father Hosten says (p. 521) that he left in February, and perhaps May is the date when Rudolf arrived at Goa. Monserrate had already left for Goa in the end of 1582 in order to go with Akbar's Moghul Ambassador to Portugal. But the embassy never got any further than Goa. Monserrate was at Goa when Rudolf was killed, but apparently was not present at the martyrdom. Eventually Monserrate was sent on a mission to Ethiopia, but was wrecked at Dofar in Arabia and was captured by the Turks there and taken to Eynam and afterwards to Sanan where he was imprisoned for over six years. He finished his Commentary there in January 1591. He was ransomed and returned to Goa in 1596. He was afterwards posted to Salsette and died there in 1600.

Monserrate's simple piety gave an explanation of the real cause of the failure of the mission. It failed, he says, because Akbar's invitation for the mission had not been divinely inspired (Comm. 638) for if this had been the case nothing could have stopped or prevented its success. *Nam si opus hoc a Deo fuisset, nullis incommodis, aut obstaculis, impediri non potuisset. At vero, quia non erat a Deo, per seipsum, etiam renitente Rege, concidit et dissolutum est.*

No, dear Father Monserrat! Your mission, at least as far as you were concerned, was not a total failure. It gave rise to a valuable book. We should remember too the lines in the Epic of Hades, which John Bright admired and which tell how far high failure overleaps the bounds of low success. Nor was Rudolf's blood altogether wasted. Doubtless his teachings and his death had a good influence on Akbar and Muḥammadan Court.

Monserrate has a long and eloquent eulogium on Father Rudolf who, no doubt, was a noble-minded man, but wanting in

gnosis. He might have done much good at Agra. He might have converted Akbar's three sons who were all favourably disposed towards him and were allowed by Akbar to attend his teaching. He was a quick man and speedily attained a good knowledge of Persian. But he weakened himself by his fastings and scourgings and did much less good to India and the world than Monserrate. The latter produced a book of priceless value, and stuck to his post. Nor was he responsible for the deaths of four Christians, and for the cruel reprisals perpetrated by the Portuguese civil authorities.

Monserrate worked at his book for eight years and finished it in 1591. He does not tell us much about himself, but there is something touching in his finding consolation for his years in prison from the fact that he had a priest as his companion to whom he could make a full confession (*propter exomologesem*). Poor man, shut up as he was, he could not have material for a long confession. That he was not all unhappy is shown by his saying of his imprisonment that his lines had fallen in pleasant places.

Selīm, afterwards Jehāngīr, accompanied his father, and so also did Murād, the second son, to whom Monserrate was tutor. Father Rudolf, the Duke's son, remained at Fathpūr. His uncle was Claude Acquaviva the General (*Praepositus*) of the Jesuits order. Rudolf went up-country, afterwards to meet Akbar on his way back from Cabul, but fell ill at Sirhind. He afterwards joined Akbar at Lahore, and the two returned together to Agra or Fathpūr. He eventually left the Court and went back to Goa in 1583, where he arrived in May. Three months afterwards he was killed by the Hindu villagers of the Goa-Salsette, along with four other Christians at Cunculim. All five were beatified by the Pope as recently as 1893. Rudolf was more brilliant than Monserrate and distinguished himself by the rapidity with which he acquired the Persian language. He was perhaps more ascetic and saint-like than Monserrate, but I doubt if his canonisation was altogether justifiable. Apparently, he had no business to go destroying idols, which was what led to his death. For he was only

a private individual and was not supported in his visit to Cunculim by the Portuguese civil authorities. This point was taken by the Devil's advocate at one of the investigations into his claims as a martyr, but probably it was feebly urged. He himself had a keen desire to become a martyr, and was distressed to find that there was little chance of thus acquiring such a crown as long as he was at Akbar's Court. He had the intolerance and impatience of his youth and upbringing. To me it seems that he committed a great mistake in leaving Fathpūr. It is true that there was no likelihood of his converting Akbar, and how could he expect Akbar to repudiate his more than 300 wives, and to confine himself to the aged lady whom he had married in his childhood. Akbar might have answered as Agrippa did to St. Paul: "With but little persuasion thou wouldest fain make me a Christian." But he might have exercised a great and beneficial influence over Akbar's wives and children. Akbar allowed the missionaries to talk freely to his children and even to proselytise them.

Monserate was sent off to Ethiopia after the failure of the embassy to Europe. He was captured at Dhofar or Dofa (Zafr?) in South Arabia in the end of 1588 or beginning of 1589. From there he was taken to Eynan (Ainad) and then to Sanan. Altogether he was $6\frac{1}{2}$ years a prisoner in Arabia. His imprisonment does not seem to have been a hard one. He calls it an ergastution and I am not sure if this means that he had to work or that it was confinement only. He was released at last, perhaps in consequence of a ransom, and returned to Goa in the end of 1596. He died at Goa-Salsette in March 1600.

When Monserate went off with Akbar, his companion and superior Father Rudolf remained alone at Fathpūr Sikrī. He was of high rank and of stainless character. But he was young and impetuous and wanting tact and commonsense.

Akbar liked him and regretted his death. But it seems evident that Akbar preferred the quieter Monserate as a companion for he took him with him in his long march to Cabul instead of Rudolf. He, however, left Monserate at Jalālābād out of consideration for his health.

That Father Rudolf had a ready wit is shown by the dexterity with which he met the outcry of a Parsee at Surat. They were discussing religious topics and the Father, perhaps accidentally, opened a casquet (*scriniolum*) which contained some relics. They were the bones of St. Stephen, the Protomartyr and other saints. The Parsee was horrified, started back and said "These are the bones of dead men, I cannot wait here and I must rend the clothes I am wearing." Rudolf pacified him by saying: "We do not carry about with us dead men's bones. These are the bones of living men." And with that he closed the casquet. A similar remark was made not long ago, though from a different point of view, when there was a question about the proper site for a bridge over the Hooghly. The engineers found that the best site for one end of the bridge was one which was very near some saints' graves. The Muḥammadans objected to these being disturbed. An Englishman replied that the saints were dead and so would not be hurt by the removal of the bones. But the rejoinder was that saints were not dead though no longer on earth, but were still living.

The question arises, what should now be done with Monserrate's autograph Commentary? He wanted to send it to Rome to the general of the Jesuits. But, apparently no autograph or copy was ever sent there. Monserrate died in India in 1600, and his papers seem to have been dispersed. Perhaps, they fell into the hands of that eminent but misguided antiquary and scholar Colonel Wilford who, I believe, was a Hanoverian. It seems to me that the proper thing to do now would be to follow the example of the Archbishop of Canterbury and his gift to America of the Log of the Magbloner and to send the Calcutta Cathedral autograph to the Jesuit College in Rome, or to the Pope.

But I think that another attempt should be made to find another copy, and that before sending the autograph to Italy, it should be submitted to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and that they be requested to revise the edition published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Father Hosten did excellent work in editing the Commentary but it is difficult to edit properly from

one copy. Experts too might be asked to examine the MS. and to furnish full notes. Several readings want revision.

53, CAMPDEN HOUSE ROAD,
LONDON, W. 8.

H. BEVERIDGE.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- A. : Akbar.
- A. F. : Abu-l-Fazl.
- A. H. : Hijra.
- A. N. : Akbarnāma.
- A. S. B. : Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- B. : Badāūnī (historian).
- Bib. Ind. : A. S. B. ed. Akbarnāma, printed at Calcutta.
- B. : Beg, Begam, Bengal and Blochmann.
- b. brother.
- d. daughter and district.
- f. father.
- s. son.
- B. M. : British Museum.
- H. M. : His Majesty.
- I. G. : Imperial Gazetteer of India.
- D. A. : Darbār Akbarī (a book).
- I. O. : India Office.
- J. : Jahāngīr and Jarrett.
- K. : Khān.
- l. line.
- M. : Mīrzā.
- M. K. : Mīrzā Koka ('Azīz K.) and Mīrzā Khān, i.e. Khān Khānān M. 'Abdurrahīm.
- M. U. : Ma'āşīru-l-Umarā.
- Muḥ. : Muḥammad.
- n. note.
- P. : Page, Persian and Prince.
- P. T. : Persian Text.
- prov. province.
- R. : Raja.
- S. : Shaikh and Saiyid.
- T. A. : Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī.
- t. town.

CHAPTER I.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE.

Verse.

I refresh my words with the name of God
For his name guides to Reality.
For to this end gave He us tongues
Speech ¹ cannot rival Praise in weight
What weight can God-knowing Reason assign to it?
In the desert which casts down the litter
Men cannot tread with speech's foot
The orator whose fame resounds to the sky
Utters in this plain the cry of lamentation.

Alas, Alas! What strength has an accidental atom tossed about in the desert of bewilderment and thirst to attempt the comprehension of the stablished Sun? What force has it to rise from the hollow of Error to the height of Recognition? How can it reckon potsherds of its fancies and the frayed tinsel of its knowledge among the rareties of the storehouse of truths and the excellencies of substantive treasures?

Verse.

The Divine mysteries are not comprehended by us
Nor is the ocean contained in the cowry! ²
Neither sage nor simpleton can grasp them
The chamaeleon ³ is blinded, even as the bat.

But simple-minded terrestrials convert into materials for Divine praise, whatever perfections they find in the record of their own

¹ This and the following line are obscure, and the Lucknow editor's note does not remove the difficulty. In his edition the lines are reversed, and so are they in the variant.

² *Goshmāhī*, lit., "fish's ear."

³ The chamaeleon is fabled to have powerful sight and to be ever gazing upon the sun. Hence the Persian name of *āftāb-parast*, "sun-worshipper."

conduct, or gather from the volume ¹ of enlightenment, and although the incomparable Personality be excluded from their ken they regard those things as the Divine Attributes. Inasmuch as the unequalled Creator chants His own praise with the glorious voice **2** of His marvels and recites the tale of His panegyric with creation's tongue, even if I admitted that there could come to any one the heaven-measuring power of eulogising God, still such an one would stay his hand when so great a blaze of the sun of truth was presented to his eye and ear, and would not turn to his own skill nor lift the head of understanding from the abyss of ecstasy. And let praise for ever and ever be given to the divinely chosen ones, who are the gardeners of the aromatic herbs of morals, and the unveilers of spiritual and physical mysteries, for that they have in this glorious audience hall consigned the books of their own knowledge to the waters ² of silence, and have trodden the line of ignorance, folded up the pages of their eloquence and opened a tongueless ³ tongue. Therefore it is far better that this wanderer in bewilderment's desert should address himself to the recording the events of a rule which is conjoined with eternity and should by one ⁴ great performance in some degree set in order two arduous tasks !

Quartain.

Glory to God the Incomparable, the Formless
That He hath made such a mirror of His beauty as the Shāh.
His glorious substance is beyond thought's ken
And his letter is beyond Reason's line,—Glory to Him !

His (Akbar's) keen eye is the astrolabe ⁵ of the substantive sun—his truth-discerning heart is the celestial observatory of Attributes—he is of noble lineage, of joyous countenance—of right disposition—

¹ Either the book of nature, or religious writings. Possibly the Koran is meant. A.F.'s meaning seems to be that though God cannot be known, yet mortals take whatever is excellent in themselves, or others, and regard it as Divine Attributes.

² Papers used to be destroyed by throwing them into water.

³ Meaning that they have practised "expressive silence."

⁴ He means that by recording Akbar's actions he also performs his duty of worshipping God. See his preface.

⁵ God is the substantive or personal sun, and Akbar the astrolabe which reads the sun.

of open brow—of well-proportioned frame—of magnanimous nature—of lofty genius—of pure purpose—of enduring faith—of perfect wisdom—begirt with varied talents—of wide capacity—of high honour—of splendid courage—of right judgment—of choice counsel—of generosity unfeigned—of boundless forgiveness, abundant in graciousness—at peace with all—compendium of dominion—of plentiful sincerity—multiple of single-minded warriors—abounding in wealth—accumulator¹ of the world's rareties—of pure heart—unspotted by the world—leader of the spiritual realm—of enduring alertness! How has he been gathered together into one place? Or how doth a single body upbear him on the shoulders of genius?

Verse.

Sphere of wisdom and vision, Akbar Shāh the Only One
Whose brow has opened on the earth like the dawn
A king whose eyes have been lessoned by the heart
A king who has been taught by Wisdom in person.

Glory be to God the Creator, who hath made the adorning of the kingly throne a witness of His lovely and awful attributes, and hath made the standard-bearer of God's shadow an ensample of His glorious praises.

Verse.

An Alexander-minded Elias² the producer of the fountain
Determiner of the Pole-star, expounder of the Almagest
The substance of kingship and saintship is in him
The magazine of divine mysteries is in him
From his great power, he is the head of princes
From his wondrous wisdom, he is the famed of epochs
While night and day endure, may his night be day
May his kingdom's jewel illumine the night.

3

If (even) by rising and falling (*i.e.*, stumbling) I cannot attain to the court of his praise (because) auspicious speech has not been granted to me, nor the glory of wisdom vouchsafed, and if I address

¹ Probably this refers to Akbar's having gathered round him all the great wits of the age.

² Elias found the fountain of life which Alexander failed to find.

myself to the beginning of that task with a short-fingered hand and a broken pen, I shall be involved in a typhoon of shame, and shall find no path¹ to the shore of the ocean! How shall I describe in mortal speech his noble qualities and glorious gifts which are known to those who preside over the heavens? Who shall dare to advance beyond the limit of his capacity? 'Tis true enlightenment to turn away my heart from this and to address myself to my noble task with the help of the arm of Faith. I must accept the secret message and withhold my soul from the suggestions of the devilish carnal spirit (*deo-nafs*),² and by legitimate necromancy make my inner and outer man dazzling to the eyes of the profound and critical. I must fulfil in some measure the various obligations of expressing thanks and carry on the task of adorning dominion. I must suspend in the antechamber of my being the charm for awakening the sleepers and the talisman for insensing the infatuated.

Verse.

I wrote in this book the thought
That a memorial of me might remain in the world
Perhaps on beholding this garden
Friends may utter a benediction on me
By virtue of imploring the genius of the ancients,
May my³ heart and speech accord.

When favour was shown to me the empty-headed one, and the door of design was opened for me, a ray was cast upon my clear heart to the effect that a separate volume should be indited for every thirty years of the transactions of the earth's lord, so that the heavy burden of expectancy should be lightened somewhat for the students of the age, and that mortals might be cheered by learning something of the wondrous fortune of the world-ruler. And also that there

¹ از من تا خاشاک دیواره نمی ماند *lit.* from me to the rubbish (or flotsam) of ocean no road remains. The passage has puzzled the copyists, for there are different readings. One MS. Add. 26, 27 reads *As mauj ba*, from the wave, instead of *as mantā*, and the Lucknow ed. has *این خاشاک*.

² Possibly the *deo-nafs* means the inclination to sloth and to abandon the task. The language of this preface is throughout very forced and obscure.

³ Or perhaps, "May my mind and words be like theirs."

might be for all—both those near and those afar off—a general distribution of the Divine abundance. With this view, the series of endless epochs was begun at the commencement of the existence of the Lord of the saints. With this heavenly note the drums of joy beat high.

Quatrain.

I hope that this record may become valuable
That it may be impressed on the world and be a thing of joy.
From the blessing of the wise king's approbation.
It receives both its name and its fame.

Though this is the middle of the seventeenth Divine year from the accession of the Prince of rulers, yet a message of eternal dominion brought the mandate that the second cycle should be dated with reference to the time of the brightening of the face of the "Beloved of Creation" (*shāhid-i-āfrīnīsh*).

Verse.¹

Let the second cycle begin from the Birth
May it be glorious, O God, by conquests
May the foot of his dominion be stable, and his fortune firm
May he be an eternal king in a fading world
A happy morn has dawned for the Age
May this orient light fill the western sky
The throne of his fortune's power long endures
Whom celestial auxiliaries have chosen.

4

One ² of the occurrences of this time was that Sulaimān Kararānī

¹ The first lines are quoted by Badayūnī, Lowe 363, as the beginning of an ode by Faizī in celebration of the completion of the thirtieth year. Faizī wrote *Khilāfat* (Caliphate), and A.F. has changed this into *wilādat* (birth). Though the literal rendering is "from the birth" what is meant is "with reference to the birth" viz., the first 30 years of Akbar's life which ended in the middle of the 17th year of his reign.

² The text gives no date, but at least three MSS. in the I.O. viz., Nos. 235, 236 and 257 of Ethé's catalogue have *عزّة ابان*, "the beginning of Ābān," before the word Sulaimān, and one B.M. MS. Add. 26, 207 has the same. The words must also have occurred in the MS. used by Chalmers. I have no doubt that the words are authentic, and they are important as fixing the date of Sulaimān's death for which B.

who exhaled the breath of power in Orissa, Bengal and Bihar departed this life. Ascetic sages, and politicians who had regard to the repose of mortals, which is bound up with one rule, one ruler, one guide, one aim and one thought, recognised in the emergence of this event an instance of the helps of fortune, whilst those who were void of understanding and who made the agitation of the black-fated Afghans in the eastern provinces an argument in support of their own views, and opposed the expedition to Gujrat, were by this event cast into the pit of failure. Another faction whose narrow intellects could not comprehend the idea of marching to Gujrat and of overcoming it, and which indulged in foolish prattle, made the event a pretext for prating and urged the propriety of marching to the eastern provinces. As the God-worshipping Khedive reflected that the oppressed ones of Gujrat should be brought into the cradle of grace he did not give ear to these futilities and said with his holy lips that it was good that the news of Sulaimān's death had come during the march to Gujrat, for had it come while he was in the capital, assuredly he would, out of deference to the opinions of most of his officers, have addressed himself in the first place to an expedition to the eastern provinces. What necessity was there now for the Shahinshāh's personal visit to these countries after Sulaimān's death? Now the conquest of that country would be accomplished by the skill and courage of the officers. Accordingly an order was sent to Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān that he should conquer Bihar, Bengal and Orissa in concurrence with the other officers.

One of the occurrences was the wounding of the Khān¹ Kalān. The account of this is as follows:—The Khān Kalān and other great officers—who had been made a vanguard—reached the town of Bhādrajan² which is near Sirohī, and were halting there. Rai

only gives the year, see 427n. Properly, Sulaimān's death should come into the second volume, for it occurred on 1 Ābān and Akbar's birthday was on 8 id, and accordingly some copies have put this paragraph before the Khātima or conclusion. But perhaps A.F. went by the date when the news reached Akbar, 1 Ābān 980 is 11 October 1572.

¹ Mir Muḥammad the elder brother of Shamsu-d-dīn Atka. B. 322 and the M'āasir III. 211.

² J. II. 276 where it appears as belonging to Jodhpūr. Gladwin has Bhadrajoon and Tiefenthaler I. 308 Tahaur ahoun. It is not mentioned in the I. G. or the Rajputana Gazetteer. It is marked in the Atlas vol. of I. G. Plate 34, and lies between Jodhpūr and Sirohī.

Mān Singh Deohra, the chief of Sirohi, took to feline tricks and sent some Rājputs as envoys, and professed obedience. When they had paid their respects to the Khān Kalān, he, at the time of dismissal, called up each one of them, and, in accordance with the Indian custom, was giving *pān* to each and bidding them adieu. One of these daring and furious men struck a blow with his dagger between the Khān Kalān's collar-bone so that the point came out below the shoulder-blade to the extent of three finger-breadths. Bahādur K. Turbatī, one of his servants ran and felled the Rajput to the ground. Ṣādiq Khān and Muḥammad Qulī Khān acted with promptitude and killed him. Others were stretched upon the ground as being involved in his wickedness. When the truth of the affair was 5 brought to the hearing of H.M. he, in contradiction to the foolish fancies of men of small capacity, prosecuted more earnestly the conquest of Gujrat. He arrived on the day of Tīr, the 13 Abān Divine month (about 20 October 1572,) at the place where the officers had been previously, and who now came in to welcome him. When he perceived that there was such rebellion on the part of the men of Sirohī he issued an order that the victorious troops should march to Sirohī and should demolish the rebels thereof. He also decided to go there himself. On the day of Sarosh, the 17 Abān Divine month he encamped in the territory of Sirohī. The presumptuous ones of that country took refuge in the mountain-defiles. In accordance with the custom which prevails among turbulent Rajputs of a number surrounding their master's palace, and of some of them establishing themselves in an idol-temple, a large body of men collected in a temple¹ of Mahādeo which was one *kos* distant from Sirohī. The world's lord restrained the alert heroes from making war on this canaille and sent off swordsmen and archers on foot to account for these doomed ones. Among the servants of the threshold of fortune, Dost Muḥammad, the son of Tātār Khān missed his way and drank the sherbet of death.

One of the occurrences was that Yār 'Alī Beg Turkamān came with a number of Persians on behalf of Sultān Muḥammad Khudā-

¹ Probably this is the temple of Sarneswar, (Saraṇeswar) about two miles from Sirohī, and on the way to

Erinpura, described in the Rajputana Gazetteer III. 125.

banda, the eldest son of Shāh Tahmāsp, who was governor of Khurāsān for his father, with the rareties of Persia as an emissary.¹ He was received with princely favours.

At this stage (Sirohī) an order was issued to Rai Rai Singh and a number of servants to abide in the territories of Jodhpur and Sirohī and to exercise supervision therein, so that if the disaffected should on hearing of the advance of the royal army wish to come out of Gujrat and cause disturbance in the imperial territories, they might be prevented. When the Shāhinshāh's mind was at ease about the affairs of that country he marched onwards. From the borders of Pattan he sent forward Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn² with rescripts to 'Itimād Khān, who had repeatedly sent petitions and had expressed desires for the arrival of the exalted court, and gave him salutary advices to guide him in the paths of auspiciousness. When H.M. had halted in the vicinity of the town of Dīha,³ the intelligencers reported to him that when Sher Khān, who had possession of Ahmadābad, had heard of the royal advance he had fled to the territory of Surat⁴ and Jūnagarh, and had sent his sons Muḥammad Khān and Badar to 6 Pattan to convey his family and goods to places of safety. They had now done so and were proceeding to rejoin their father. Also that Ibrāhīm Husain M., who had come to help 'Itimād Khān, had gone back to his own estate and that 'Itimād Khān intended to wait upon H.M. H.M. sent Rajah⁵ Mān Singh and a body of troops to seize Sher Khān's sons, but they fled to the defiles. The troops, however, came up with their baggage and were victorious. On the day of Ashtād 26 Ābān Divine month, corresponding to Saturday 1 Rajab (7 November) 1572, H.M. encamped in the pleasant city of Pattan which was formerly known as Nahrwāla. The inhabitants, both high and low, showed reliance on the justice and kindness of the Shāhinshāh and tendered their homage. H.M. directed his

¹ Tahmāsp was then living and Khudābanda was only governor of Khurāsān. Cf. Elliot V. 342 where the statement that Tahmāsp had also sent the ambassador is a mistranslation.

² Son of Mīr Qāsim, Blochmann 406.

³ So in text, but doubtless Dīsa in Gujrat.

⁴ The variant Sorath is probably right.

⁵ He was only Kuar till Rajah Bhagwān's death, and is generally called so by A.F.

attention to Mīrzā Khān and questioned him about the martyrdom of Bairām Khān (his father). In his graciousness he said that he would make over Pattan to him, and that as at present he had not the means ¹ of looking after it, Saiyid Aḥmad Khān would be appointed to take care of it. From this place he deputed Ḥakim 'Ain-al-mulk to bring to court 'Itimād Khān and Mīr Abū Turāb. Mīrzā Muqīm, who was related to M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain, was one of the first to take the path of auspiciousness and to come and kiss the threshold. Here, too, the good services of Moẓaffar Khān were called to mind, and as his merits were found to outweigh his defects, an order was issued rescinding his departure for the Hijāz, and bringing him to Court. On 3 Āzar Divine month or 7 Rajab (13 November 1572), H.M. marched towards Ahmadābād.

When he reached Jutāna ² it appeared that Moẓaffar Gujrātī, who was the document of sovereignty for the Gujrātīs, had separated from Sher Khan Faulādī and was wandering about in a distracted state in the neighbourhood. Mīr Khān Yesāwal and Farīd Qarāwal were sent, and after them were despatched Abū-l-qāsim Namakīn ³ and Karm 'Alī to investigate and to bring that confused wanderer to court. When Mīr Khān had gone some way, Moẓaffar's umbrella and canopy fell into his hands. He was then joined by Mīr Abū-l-qāsim and Karm 'Alī who had followed him. They went on and at last Mīr Khān seized Moẓaffar, who was hiding in a corn-field, and brought him before H.M. He had compassion on him and made him over to Karm 'Alī. On the night of the same day Mīr Saiyid Ḥāmid Bukhārī and Ulugh Beg Ḥabshī arrived with their troops and did homage, and were encompassed with royal favours. No long time had elapsed after that when Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn and Ḥakīm Aīnu-l-mulk brought to Court Mīr Abū Turāb, who was the chief 7 counsellor of Gujrat, and reported that 'Itimād Khān was coming to offer his submission. Before Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn arrived, he had sent Mīr Abū Turāb, Wajīh-al-mulk and Mujāhid Khān to court in order that they might procure him fresh confidence and then return.

¹ On account of his youth. His father's body was apparently still there then. It was removed to Mashhad in 985 (1577). According to the *Maasir*

I. 381, it was first taken to Delhi.

² So in text, but should be apparently Chotana, Blochmann 518.

³ Blochmann 470.

When Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn met in with the envoys, he comforted them and went on to ‘Itimād Khān. Hakīm ‘Ain-al-mulk came and turned back Abū Turāb and carried him to Aḥmadābād. After much discussion all the Gujrat officers and grandees of that country set their hearts to loyalty and glorified the faces of the coins and the tops of the pulpits with the name of H.M. the Shāhinshāh and proceeded to court. ‘Itimād Khān dismissed the ambassadors along with Mir Abū Turāb from the town of Karī.¹ When this news was brought to the royal hearing, Khwāja Jahān, Khān ‘Ālam and Ṣādiq Khān were deputed to welcome them and they conducted them with honour. Next day, when the royal standards had advanced from Jūtāna, ‘Itimād Khān and a large body of persons drew near. Khwāja Jahān, Mir Abū Turāb and a number of others were ordered to hasten forward and to exalt him by bringing him to do homage. H.M. mounted in his glory on an elephant, the envoys brought forward ‘Itimād Khān and he was made illustrious by performing the prostration. After that Ikhtiyār-al-mulk, Malik Mashriq,² Jujhār Khān Habshī, Wajīha-al-mulk and Mujāhid Khān came and kissed the carpet, and each was received with favour proportionate to his position. ‘Itimād Khān and some of the nobles of Gujrat were ordered to mount (on elephants?) and to come nearer. H.M. conversed with them the whole way and encouraged them and halted at the town of Karī. Saif-al-mulk and some others were in Maḥmūdābād. Ṣādiq Khān and other servants were sent to give these loiterers the bliss of doing homage. At this station, as a matter of prudence and caution—which are adjuncts of administration—the Gujrat officers were summoned and told that H.M. would entrust the country to ‘Itimād K. and would leave him all the officers he wished for. It was proper that each of them should give security so that there might be no failure of vigilance and forethought, and that the conditions of honourable conduct (*futuwat*)³ might be ful-

¹ Kadī, in Baroda.

² The text has Ikhtiyār-al-mulk, the son of Mashriqī, or the Mashriqī, but it appears from the T.A. and the Iqbāl-nāma that Malik Maskriq or Malik Aḥraq is the name and that he is another person than Ikhtiyār-al-

mulk. Malik Sharq or Aḥraq is mentioned in Chapter III as acting as guide to Akbar. He was afterwards made collector of Thānesar and is mentioned by Badayūnī, p. 223.

³ *Futuwat* generally means liberality. Perhaps the meaning is that if

filled. Mīr Abū Turāb engaged to be security for 'Itimād K., and the latter became surety for all the others except the Abyssinians. H.M. ordered that the Abyssinians should be included among the royal slaves on the same terms as they had been slaves of Sultān Maḥmūd. In observance¹ of certain matters, which were necessary for the guarding of sovereignty, they were made over to the great officers. Next day the standards of fortune halted at the village of Sāntaj.²

One of the warning occurrences was that a crew of libertines and **8** vagabonds of that country—where there are thousands of such—raised a shout to the effect that a sublime order had been given that the people of the army of fortune should plunder the Gujrātī's camp. They began to do so and a great commotion resulted. When this came to the Khedive's hearing, he summoned the great officers and ordered them to inflict punishment on the plunderers, and to put to death those who were found in the possession of plunder. He himself held a public court and had fierce elephants present. The rioters were brought before H.M. and were trampled under the feet of elephants. The goods were returned to the owners, and in a short time the disturbance was quieted, and there was a sound of peace and security. By the glory of this justice the newly acquired territory became a seat of tranquillity. On the day of Ābān 10 Āzar Divine month or 14 Rajab (November 20, 1572) the standards were set up in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadābād, and merely by the glance of the Shāhinshāh a work which a crowd of men would have regarded as difficult was accomplished with ease. A multitude of men, high and low, submitted and were made happy. Everyone according to his means returned thanks³ for the deliverance from

the Gujrat officers gave security, Akbar would be able to deal liberally with them.

¹ This passage is explained by the T.A. Elliot V. 343, where it is mentioned that Akbar's officers were suspicious of the Abyssinians and reported to this effect to Akbar who ordered the headmen (*sirdārān*) should be made over to trustworthy

servants of the Court.

² There is the variant Sāhaj. I have not found the place. According to the *Mirāt Aḥmadī* the riots mentioned in the following paragraph occurred at Hājīpūr.

³ *Shukrāna*. Apparently this refers to the amount of *peshkash* or presents tendered by each.

the calamities of the age, and was honoured by the sublime glance. Aḥmadābād which is the metropolis and has 380¹ pūrahs (quarters) *i.e.*, wards, each of which is like a city, became a scene of heavenly excellences from the glory of the advent of the Shāhīnshāh. H.M. several times entered this city. The wishes of many generations of mortals were fulfilled; the oppressed obtained favour, and the oppressors sank into the abyss of destruction. The talented came out of the secret chamber of capability into the conspicuousness of action. On this day² of joy the festival of weighing the Shāhīnshāh was held and there was rejoicing upon rejoicing. The solicitous obtained their wishes, and the prayers of the suppliants were heard. At this time, while the camp was at Aḥmadābād, the envoys of Amīn³ Khān Ghori arrived with suitable presents and had the bliss of performing homage. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. sent a hypocritical petition and presents, but as he was not sincere, he did not find acceptance.

¹ In the Aīn. and in T.A. the number is given as 360. See J. II. 240.

² The particular day is not specified. If, as usual, the day chosen was Akbar's birthday, it should have been 5 Rajab, but this occurred before he arrived at Ahmedābād.

³ He was ruler of Jūnagarh, etc. A.F.'s account of the two expeditions to Gujrat should be compared with the accounts in the T.A., both in the part which gives the history of Akbar, and in the part which gives the history of the kings of Gujrat. Ni-

zam-ud-dīn had served in Gujrat and his descriptions are often fuller and more correct than A.F.'s. See especially Elliot V. 360-70. It was 'Itimād Khān's intrigues which led Akbar to interfere in the affairs of Gujrat. 'Itimād first produced Moẓaffar or Nathū and swore on the Koran that he was Sulṭan Maḥmud's son, and then when Moẓaffar left him for the Afghans (Sher Khān Fulādī and others), 'Itimād turned round and wrote that Moẓaffar was not the king's son.

CHAPTER II.

MARCH OF THE SACRED ARMY OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH FROM AḤMĀDABĀD
TO THE PORT OF CAMBAY, AND HIS BEHOLDING THE SEA.

When the delightful country of Gujrat had become the abode of peace and tranquillity by the advent of the Shāhinshāh, he made over the government of Aḥmadābād and this side of the river Mahindri (*i.e.*, the Mahī) to the Khān A'azam M. 'Azīz Koka. The other side, ⁹ *viz.*, Baroda, Cāmpānīr, Surat, and the districts which had been usurped by the Mīrzās were entrusted to the Gujrat officers who had bound on the straps of fealty and had been included among the imperial servants. 'Itimād Khān Gujrati was placed at the head of them, and these officers, new and old, engaged to administer the territories, and to extirpate the Mīrzās. Thereafter H.M. determined that after he had visited the sea, he would return to the capital (*i.e.*, Aḥmadābād). Accordingly on the day of Asman 27 Āzar Divine month or Monday 2 Shābān, 2 December 1572, he marched to the port of Cambay which is thirty *kos* from Aḥmadābād. The Gujrat officers took leave for some days in order to make their arrangements and stayed in the city. He left Hakīm 'Aīn-al-mulk, who had relationships with them, in order that he might civilise these savages of the desert.

On the march he heard that Ikhtiyār-al-mulk had in his wickedness absconded, and that 'Itimād Khān and the other Gujrat officers were on the point of falling into evil ways. Accordingly Shahbāz Khān received orders to go there quickly and come with those traitors and prevent them from turning into the desert of error.

On 1¹ Dai Divine month H.M. encamped at the port of Cambay so that pleasant spot became the meeting-place of the spiritual and material oceans. The merchants of Rūm,² Syria, Persia and Turān regarded the advent of the Shāhinshāh as a great boon and paid their respects. H.M. embarked on a ship with a select party, and

¹ T.A. Friday, 6 Shabān (12 December 1572).

² The Iqbāl-nāma has Farang (Europe) instead of Syria.

made an excursion on the sea. The hearts of the sincere received a fresh instruction. On the day of Shahrīyūr 4 Dai, Divine month, Shāhbāz Khān brought 'Itimād Khān and some other of the Gujrātī officers to Court. As these wicked and deceitful men had broken their engagements of loyalty, H.M. again turned his attention to the affairs of the country and made over each one of them to a faithful servant. The short account of those evil-conditioned men is that timidity, deceit, and falsehood have been mixed up with a little honesty, simplicity and humility (*farotanī*, perhaps meanness) and made into a paste (*m'ajūn*) to which the name of Gujrātī has been given. Among these 'Itimād Khān was the leading specimen. When the reverberation of the fortune of the sublime army rose high in Gujrat, the officers thereof lost hold of the thread of counsel. At last they contrived a scheme and did homage, but all their thought was by this deception to keep up the old state of things. As H.M. is an ocean of benevolence he winked at their inner wickedness and encompassed them with favours. Although farsighted counsellors who had to some extent understood the dispositions of those evil-minded ones, and had by hints and also by clear language suggested their arrest, their proposals were not accepted. On the contrary the position of those men (the Gujrātīs) was made yet confidential. At the time when H.M. went off to witness the spectacle of the ocean, it was evident from their taking leave and remaining behind that this wicked crew had evil designs. What campaign had they made that it was imperative that they should at this time take leave? But the world's lord, from his reverence and gracious-

10ness, took the view that they were honest, and when those wretches saw the glorious justice and the daily increasing fortune of the king, they perceived that now that so wide as a territory had been made brilliant by his equity, it was impossible for them to remain in it according to the old, old way, and that it would be better for them to retire and raise the head of turbulence. On the night¹ of the second day after H.M.'s departure, Ikhtiyār-al-mulk took the oppor-

¹ The T.A. Elliott V. 243 says Akbar left Aḥmadābād on Monday, 2 Sh'abān (8 December 1572), and that Ikhtiyār-al-mulk fled towards Aḥ.

madnagar and Idar on the 4th id. This Aḥmadnagar was in Gujrat some 20 miles from Idar. See Mirat Aḥmadī.

tunity to desert, and 'Itimād Khān and all those who were in league with him were on the point of going off when Abū Turāb and Hakīm Ain-al-mulk arrived. The conspirators sought to ruin them by tricks and pretences and sought to detain them and to use up the time by discussions and stratagems. It nearly came to their being imprisoned and carried off and to their being put to death and to the evil schemes being carried out. Just then Shāhbāz Khān arrived, and their evil intentions did not become acts. Shāhbāz Khān considered with himself that if he hastened to arrest Ikhtiyār-al-mulk, this crew would escape. Without raising the veil from over the acts of those disloyal ones, he went off to the threshold of fortune. As H.M. the Shāhinshāh is a touchstone for all classes, the false coin of these men was soon revealed, and they met with their punishment. The right-thinking and magnanimity of the world's lord were revealed to mankind and the links of sway maintained. The good fortune of the farsighted was conspicuous and also there was a demonstration to the general public of the conduct of the faction. The good name of the Shāhinshāh was written on the pages of the hearts of high and low. If H.M., in accordance with his own secret perception or with the requests of the clear-sighted ones of the court had before this put those evil-doers into confinement, how would the real state of the case have been made manifest to the general public, with whom—the blind and superficial—rulers have principally to do?

When the Shāhinshāh's mind was free from the affairs of these wicked and two-faced men, he addressed himself to the extirpation of the seditious Mīrzās. For from the time when that crew had, after failing in Malwa, come to this country, Baroda had come into the hands of Ibrāhīm Husain M., Surat into those of Muḥammad **11** Husain M. and Cāmpānīr into the hands of Shāh M. H.M. made over the charge of the port of Cambay to Hasan Khān Khāzāncī and on the day of Amardād 7 Dai Divine month, proceeded towards Baroda. From near Baroda he sent Shāhbāz Khān, Qāsim Khān, Bāz Bahādur Khān and a body of active men towards Cāmpānīr in order to free that fort from the rebels. Khān Aāzam M. Koka was sent off to the government of Ahmadābād. He instilled into the mind of that auspicious one many principles of government such as the love of justice, continual watchfulness, the having regard to the

ranks of mankind, the preservation of their honour, the observing of peace with all, etc., and bade him confirm him (Akbar) in his good opinion of himself. He (Akbar) also appointed as his assistants Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn Khān, Dastam Khān, M'aṣūm Khān, Saiyid Hāmid Bokhārī, Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī and a large number of loyal heroes, and he encompassed them with favours above their positions. His purpose in sending them was that they might inflict suitable punishment on the Mīrzās if they should try to raise a disturbance there. On the day of Āzar the 9th of the said month (Dai) he reached Baroda. Next day he learnt that the ill-fated Mirzas had strengthened the fort of Surat and had collected near Cāmpānīr. The Khān 'Aālm, Saiyid Maḥmūd Khān Bārha, Shāh Qulī Khān Muḥram, Rājah Bhagwant Dās, Mān Singh, and Khawāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Iṣfahānī ¹ and another body of troops were deputed to give those infatuated ones a lesson. It was past midnight when an intelligencer brought news that when the news of the advance of the Shāhinshāh's army reached Ibrāhīm Husain M. in the fort of Broach, he put to death Rustum ² Khān Rūmī who had resolved on becoming loyal and wished to do homage. Though he could not maintain himself in that fort against the world-conquering standards, yet the wine of presumption in his brain was making him pass by at a distance of eight kos from the camp of fortune, in order that he might cause a disturbance in the country. As many of the loyal servants had already

12 been sent against those vagabonds, the world-lord—who in his excess of courage always wished to wield his sword in the battlefield,—was pleased, and determined that he would personally make a rapid expedition and chastise those evildoers.

¹ The variant is Āṣofkhānī is preferable.

² This is the Rustum Khān who had so long defended Broach. It

appears from this account that it was not altogether in breach of a compact that Ibrāhīm put him to death.

CHAPTER III.

RAPID MARCH OF H.M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH AGAINST IBRĀHĪM HUSAIN M.,
THE BATTLE AND THE DEFEAT OF THE ENEMY.

As H.M. knew that the chastisement of the presumptuous and rebellious was at the head of the deeds of sovereignty, he sent off Shahbāz Khān Mīr Bakhshī quickly in order that he might turn back the officers who had previously hurried off to put down the Mīrzās, and cause them to join the imperial force. He left Mīr Muḥammad the Khān Kalān, Khawāja Jahān, Shujā'at Khān and Ṣādiq Khān in the camp and in charge of the princes (Akbar's children), and put his foot in the stirrup of victory. He took with him Khawāja 'Abdullah, Jalāl Khān Qūrcī, Raisāl Darbārī, Āṣaf Khān, Jaimal,¹ Bahādur Khān Qūrdār, Maqbul Khān, Aqā² Sarkh Badakhshī, Mathurā Dās, and Adam Tājband. Dilāwarkhān³ was ordered to remain on the edge of the camp and to see that no one else should follow them. H.M. did not judge it proper that more than two⁴ or three servants (*mardum*) of his companions should go with them lest Ibrāhīm Husain should decamp on account of the crowd of victorious warriors. Though those loyalists who had the privilege of speech implored and lamented, it was of no avail. He said that such was his reliance on God's help that he needed not a large force to quell those wretched insurgents. But out of farsightedness—which is the foundation of conquest and world-rule—he ordered that the army⁵ which had gone in advance should be united with his band.

¹ The *Iqbāl-nāma* has *Wazīr Jamīl*, and this is probably right. He is the man who afterwards turned traitor in Bengal.

² There is the variant *Wāfa*, and the *Iqbāl-nāma* has *Wafa Cela* and *Sarkh*.

³ The *Iqbāl-nāma* has *dilāwarān*. Brave men were ordered.

⁴ The text has *du kas* "two persons," but as I.O. M.S. 236 and B.M.

Or. 26, 207 have *du sih kas* "two or three persons," I have adopted that reading. I.O. MS. 235 has *du sih hazār kas*, "two or three thousand persons."

⁵ *Lashkar-i-pesh*. This must be the army which had previously marched against the Mīrzās, and which the Bakhshī Shahbāz K. had now been sent to recall. It is mentioned again a little lower down.

On the same night that the news of the rebels had been brought, he mounted his swift steed when about two hours of night remained and went off at a gallop. Malik Ashrāq¹ Gujrātī was added as a guide, as he was acquainted with the country. On that swift journey the guides went wrong owing to a design of Providence. At last the path was found by the illumination of the sun of fortune and they went on still more rapidly.

One of the mysterious indications, which caused joy to H.M.'s comrades, was that when it became morning, and the world-lighting splendour of the great luminary took possession of the world, a deer **13** appeared. It passed into the mind of the Shāhinshāh that if he caught this deer it would be a sign of victory. So a *cīta* was slipped, and immediately the deer was captured. When this became known to H.M.'s followers their hearts were strengthened a thousandfold and they addressed themselves to the march. No trace of the enemy could be seen. It appeared as if they had heard of the victorious, royal army, and had increased their pace. Delay was also caused by the cavalcade's missing its way. When two hours of day remained, they fell in with a *brahman* and inquired from him about the enemy. He said they had crossed the Bikānīr² river and encamped in large force at Sarnāl, and that the distance was about four *kos*. H.M. took counsel with his followers. Jalāl Khān said, "Our troops have not come up yet, and the enemy is in force. When we are so few in number it is not advisable to engage in daylight with so many. The proper thing is to halt a while and make a night-attack." The mine of truth and courage did not approve of a night-attack, which is a form of deception and fraud, and in order to encourage his comrades, said, "Courage is a helper, and many cowards become brave men out of shame. It is far better not to be

¹ Ashraf in text, but Ashraq is the correct reading.

² So in text, but there is evidently an error. Elliot VI. 37 has Sakānīr, and Bird's Gujrat 310 has "the ford of Biākāpūr." Evidently the river is the Mahindrī or Mahī, and perhaps the place is Wancaneer (Wankānīr) marked as on the Mahī, between

Ahmadabad and Baroda, in the map to Bayley's Gujrat. The Bombay Gazetteer VII. 539 mentions the town of Vāsopura as a place where the Mahī is fordable. The original of the Mīrāt Ahmādī has "the river Mahindrī at the ford of Bīkānīr." Bom. lith. 120.

put off the work of the day till the night, and to fight with the smartness and alacrity that we are marching with." He uttered words of encouragement and said, "Friends, be stout-hearted, and let each one of us overthrow a foe." Khwāja 'Abdullah said "Your Majesty will remember that you have often said that 'A good elephant is one who is not satisfied with overthrowing one opponent but addresses himself to the casting down and trampling upon many.' " H.M. commended this speech, and resolved, heaven helping, to fight by day,¹ and pushed on faster than ever. At last the town of Sarnāl,² which was on the top of a hill, appeared in sight. After H.M. had proceeded a little way further, he drew up his men on the banks of the Mahindrī, and ordered them to put on their cuirasses. At this time, when this Tiger of God was preparing for combat—and not more than forty men had arrived, news came of the approach of his other troops. He was angry at their delay, and said to his companions, "We'll not suffer them to share in the fight with us." But when it was explained that the cause of their delay was that they had hurried off in an opposite direction and also that Shahbāz Khān, who had been sent to call them, had been long in coming up with them, his wrath was appeased, and he permitted some of them to present 14 themselves. The Khān 'Aālm, Ṣaiyid Muḥammad Khān Bārḥā Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, Kuar Mān Singh Bābā Khān Qāqshāl, Bhūpat, Salīm Khān Kākar, Bhoj, Hajī Yūsuf Khān and many others of the officers and cavaliers bent forward the head of shame and joined the royal cavalcade. So the number of the troop became about two hundred. At the time of crossing the river Mān Singh petitioned to be placed in the van. H.M. said, "What force have we that we should make a division. To-day we are all one and have set our hearts upon the fight." He begged, saying, "It is the privilege of devotion to go a few steps in front and to show life-sacrifice." The just prince granted his desire and allowed him and some experienced warriors to go in front. He himself, proceed-

¹ Akbar's meaning was that it was advantageous to fight in daylight as then men were ashamed to run away.

² Sarnāl seems to mean "Head of the river," and A.F. plays on this,

saying it was head of the hill. It is not marked on the maps and seems to have disappeared. It is entered in the Ain as in Sarkar Aḥmadabad. Persian text, p. 494.

ing on *pari passu* with the Divine assistance, put his bay horse into the deep river. By the good fortune and miracle of his personality the river became fordable, and all the loyal servants crossed in safety. Ibrāhīm Husain M. had a little while before halted in the town of Sarnāl. When he saw the dust of the victorious army and the horsemen crossing the river he recognised the Divine glory (*far Īzdī*) and said to his companions, "Evidently the king is here from their crossing so splendidly." From illfatedness and shortness of vision he immediately prepared for battle and came out of the town and took post on rising ground. When H.M. had crossed the river the bank was found to be very rugged.¹ The devoted heroes abandoned prudence and pressed forward. Parties of them came into the broken ground, and sought for a means of success. The lord of the earth and a few of his immediate followers came to the gate of Sarnāl which faced the river, and then some of the wretches tried to oppose him. Maqbul Khān, a Qalmāq slave, and some brave men rushed forward and levelled them with the dust. When they got into the town they found the streets full of baggage, and it appeared that Ibrāhīm Husain M. had gone out with the rest of the rebels by another road and was prepared for battle. The world's lord and a party of kindred spirits got out, with great difficulty, from the narrow and encumbered streets, and he addressed himself to encouraging his followers. Bābā Khān Qaqshāl and his bowmen were driven off by the enemy. The other heroes stood firm. Many of the practised warriors, who had got separated in the ravines, came in from every side and attacked the foe. One of them, Bhūpat² the brother of Bhagwant Dās, became confronted with a number of the enemy, and bravely yielded up his life.

15

Verse.

In every corner there was a hot engagement,
 There was a dealing with an ill-fated set,
 As the troops were few but fortune was friendly
 They were better than numbers and difficulties

¹ The Mirāt Ahmadi says the broken ground is called *Kotar* by the people of Gujrat. Bombay lith. 121.

² Badāūni calls him Bhunpat, and says he was Bhagwān's son! The Iqbāl-nāma calls him the brother's son of Bhagwān.

For in war the result is from the stars
Not from wealth and a large army.

As the ground was rough and there were thorn bushes¹ two horsemen could not advance abreast. The tiger of the forest of courage displayed the power of God and slowly advanced by the narrow ways. Rajah Bhagwant Dās was close beside him, and when on every side there was hard fighting three daring men rushed from out the ranks of the opponents against the lion-hearted sovereign. One of them made at Rajah Bhagwant Dās and aimed his javelin at him, but the Rajah stood firm in his stirrups and attacked him with his spear. The javelin did not hit its mark, and the Rajah so smote that wretch with his spear that he was overthrown. Just then the other two attacked H. M. The thorn bushes were an obstacle, and the Khān 'Aālm, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram and some others who were near at hand, were so unfortunate as not to be able to assist. That tiger-slayer and world-champion, when he saw that those two evildoers were coming near him, urged on his horse and jumped over the thorns and in front of them. The glory of the Divine radiance affrighted them and they fled. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. was vanquished by the fortune of the King.

Verse.

Dost thou not know that when he engaged in combat
Fortune uttered the cry of "Beware" !

What brave man will seek a contest with him ?

What courage will he have to look on his brow ?

He so fights that heroes, high or low,

Fall down as if drunk with wine.

At each onset he strides thirty paces,

At each wound an elephant falls down.

The soldiers fly in crowds on crowds :

They give themselves to the river and the rock.

All at once they fled in confusion, and the warriors pursued them and killed many. By the blessing of the Shahinshāh's personality such a great victory was obtained by a few.

¹ Zaqqūm, either euphorbia antiquorum, or a cactus.

Verse.

No one has seen such fighting in the world
Nor has heard of such from the skilled in history.

The account of this great masterpiece is beyond the mould of
16 language, and so instructive an event has seldom been met with
among the feats of the ancients, to wit, that such a great King, at
whose beck are a thousand armies, should, in his high courage and
greatness of soul, not delay, but with a few of his own followers
should make so long a march against so many brave troops, and
should, by the Divine help, uprear the standards of victory and drive
such haughty ones before him! Assuredly human power cannot ac-
count for such deeds, nor comprehend them. Clearly it is the special
Divine favour to which they should be ascribed!

His world-conquering mind desired that the pursuit should not
be given up till Ibrāhīm Husain should be seized, but as the cup of
his life was not yet full the darkness of night threw a veil over him.
Of necessity the farsighted Shāhinshāh returned and encamped in
the town of Sarnāl.¹ He returned thanks to God and proceeded to
reward his followers. He sent the bulletin of victory, which was full
of the wonders of the Divine aid, to the camp by Surkh Badakhshī.
Next morning he proceeded towards the camp, and on 12 Dai, Divine
month, corresponding to the night of Wednesday the 18th Shāban
(24 December 1572), he returned to the camp. The gates of rejoicing
and thanksgiving were opened anew.

One of the occurrences of this time was that Shāh Qulī Khān
Maḥram, Ṣādiq Khān and some of the chosen heroes were appointed
to go to the neighbourhood of the fort of Surat so as to allow none
of the besieged to escape. When the news of the royal army
reached the besieged in the fort, Gulrukh Begam the daughter of
M. Kāmraṇ, and wife of Ibrāhīm Husain M., took with her her son
Mozaffar Husain M. and some of her trusty adherents and went off to
the Deccan. Though the officers hastened after her they did not

¹ A.F.'s account of the battle of
Sarnāl is translated in Elliot's His-
tory of India, VI, 37. There is also
in vol. V, 344, a translation of Niẓ-
āmu-d-dīn's account of the battle.

² The wording of the B.M. MS.
Add. 27, 247 differs considerably
from the text, and represents a
different recension. It states, as also
does Niẓāmu-d-dīn, that Shāh Qulī

succeed,² and that wise woman manfully¹ got away from them.

Another occurrence was the chastisement² of Shahbāz Khān Bakhshī Begī, and the warning given thereby to all the pillars of the state. The cause of this direction was that Mahmūd the son of Iskandar Afghān had been made over to his care, and that he managed to escape from his guards and go off to the Deccan. H.M. severely censured him. In fact it was kindness in the guise of wrath, so that the servants of the threshold of the Caliphate might not show slackness in the affairs of sovereignty—which in truth is a form of Divine worship—and should not lose hold of vigilance and wariness.

Mahram pursued Gulrukh for fifty *kos*, and that though he did not catch her, he got hold of some of her belongings. The same MS. gives at the beginning of the chapter a long account of the fortress of Surat and of its construction by Khawājah Šafar (Khudāwand Khān, or Rūmī Khān). It seems that *chaukandi* was a defensive work, and apparently a tower, and that the Portuguese objected to it because it was in imitation of their own buildings.

¹ Cf. "stirring up her womanish

thoughts with a manly stomach."

II Maccabees. C. VII, 21.

² According to the account in B.M. Add. 27, 247, Shahbāz Khān was bastinadoed, but so that no visible marks were made. It would seem as if this account were the one originally written by A.F., and that a vestige of it remains in the expression kindness, or pleasantry (*latfī*) in the guise of anger. The pleasantry was in the beatings not being severe.

CHAPTER IV.

H.M. FORMS THE DESIGN OF TAKING THE FORT OF SURAT.

When it was ascertained that the rebels were making the fort of Surat—which is in Gujrat on the bank of the Taptī and near the
17 ocean—their place of refuge, and were labouring to strengthen it, and had made it over to Hamzabān, who formerly had been among the *qūrcīs*¹ (body-guards) of the Shāhinshāh, but whom an evil fate had now included among the mutineers, H.M. turned his attention to the taking of the fort. Rajah Todar Mal, who was distinguished for foresight and mental activity, was directed to go and examine the methods of ingress and egress of the fort, and to submit a report as to how it could best be taken. He reported² that the capture of the fort could be very easily effected. But it was decided that the untying of this knot should be done by H.M. in person. It was from looking to the majestic fortune of the Shāhinshāh that the Raja represented this difficult task as an easy one. If he had had regard to ordinary considerations he never would have ventured on such a bold statement. But at a time when so extensive a country had come into possession, and the sovereign had come a long way from his capital, and had for some months been behind the shields

¹ Badāūynī speaks of him as having belonged to Humāyūn's body-guard.

² B.M. Add. 27, 247 says that Todar Mal returned within a week and reported. There is some confusion in the text, and it seems that there is another recension which is represented by Add. 27, 247. What happened apparently was that Todar Mal reported that the fort was an insignificant affair and that there was no need for Akbar's going in person to take it. Abul Fazl's comment on this is that this was not the

real state of the case—the taking of the fort was a difficult task—but that Todar Mal considered that it was not right that Akbar should go there in person when he had been so long away from his capital, and there were so many more important matters calling for his attention. So Todar Mal relied on the good fortune of Akbar's arms and represented the task as easier than it was. Akbar assented to Todar Mal's reasoning about his being required elsewhere, etc., but still judged it proper to go in person to Surat.

of the army, and when the seditious were everywhere lifting up their heads, both those of Gujrat and those of the eastern provinces, how could it be right so great a lord should personally undertake the reduction of a fort? The ruler of the world perceived in his farsightedness that although the circumstances were of this nature, yet if the disposal of the affair were left to the officers there might be delay in accomplishing it, and that if he did not give his personal attention to the matter, the root of those evildoers, which was supplying them with the means of strife, would remain fixed in the soil of sedition as before. Accordingly he determined that he would personally undertake the task and make easy what was difficult. An order was issued that Shāham Khān Jalāir should proceed with a number of loyal heroes towards the fort of Cāmpānir, and that Qāsim Khān Mīr Baḥr, who was there, should come to head-quarters, as he was H.M.'s best pupil in the matter of making *sābāts* and driving mines. An order was also sent to the Khān A'azam, informing him that H.M. was about, with God's help, to accomplish this work, and that he, as the arm of dominion, should see, in concert with the other officers who had been left to assist him, that if the turbulent Mīrzās should invade the country they should be suitably punished. As caution was the foundation of administration, Sher Beg Tavācī had been sent to Mālwa to direct Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān and the Mālwa officers, who had been ordered to Gujrat, to proceed thither as quickly as possible so **18** that, if necessity should arise, the whole body of officers should be at his (Khān A'azam's) disposal, and clear the country of rebellious rubbish.

When the Shāhinshāh's mind was at rest about the affairs of Aḥmadābād he marched on the day of Bahrām 20 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday, 25 Shābān (31 December 1572), from Baroda towards Surat. He moved on, stage by stage, hunting and administering justice as he went, and at last reached the neighbourhood of the fort on the day of Ardībihisht 3 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 7 Ramzān (11 January 1573). Balls from cannon and culverins came several times into the holy quarters, but by the Divine protection they did no harm. As the station was very near to the fort, H.M. at the request of his officers moved to a place near the Gopī

Tank.¹ That, too, was near the fort, but it was screened by forest, and uneven ground. Here, too, cannon balls reached the bounds of the quarters, but the Divine protection did its work. H.M. invested the fort with his victorious troops, and assigned each side of it to experienced loyalists. The besieged in their evil-fatedness and blackened hearts turned away from the sun of fortune, and in reliance on the strength of the place, the abundance of provisions, the number of cannon, etc., and the recalcitrancy of the Mīrzās, fell into the abyss of insouciance. Some of them continually sallied forth and made attacks on the batteries. The lives-devoting heroes exerted themselves in chastising these wretches. One of the occurrences was that on a day when there was a rain of balls and bullets from above, and an attack from below by some rebels on the miners in the batteries, Saif K. had fought and distinguished himself. As he was coming back he was struck by a bullet. Though he was confined to his bed for a month, he eventually recovered. Some one said to him: "H.M. is not pleased with you, and why do men like you take the lead for he says² to many who have not attained to your rank, "Why do you knowingly and intentionally throw yourselves into such dangerous positions?" That loyal warrior replied: "At the battle of Sarnāl I missed my road and could not be present at that manhood-testing place. From the disgrace of that day my life is a burden to me and I wish to make it lighter."

¹ The text merely has *kūlābī*, a tank, but a note to the text says that many MSS. have *Kolī talāo*, and this occurs also in MSS. Add. 26, 207 and 27, 247. But the true reading is *Kopī*, i.e., *Gopī talāo*, and this is found in several MSS. *Gopī* was a Hindu and the founder of Surat about the end of the 15th century. He wished to call the city *Suraj* or *Surya-pūr*, but the Muḥammadan king of Gujrat preferred to give it a name which was also that of the chapters of the Koran, and called it *Surat*. *Gopī* made a tank and lined it with stone,

intending it to be the chief ornament of the city. The site of the tank is still known and is still called *Gopī talāo*, but it is now only a hollow and is used as a garden. See Bombay Gazetteer II. 70 and notes. See also "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar" by Jivanji Jamshedji, Bom. 1903, Du Perron's notes, p. 186. *Gopīpurā* is in the suburbs of Surat and near *Salābatpura* and *Rustampurā*.

² The use of the word *mīfarmāind* seems to show that the remark quoted is by Akbar. I conjecture that for *bisyārī* we should read *ba bisyārī*.

One of the occurrences of the siege was the obtaining possession of some elephants and baggage of the Mīrzās. The brief **19** account of this is that those blind and inauspicious men had made over some of their elephants and other property to Rānā Rām Deo, a landholder of that part of the country. When the sublime camp halted there the camp-followers went out on a plundering expedition, and those elephants, etc., came into their hands. They regarded this as a good omen and brought them to H.M. who rewarded them by princely gifts.

One of the occurrences of this time was the deputation of some of the officers to the capital. The brief account of this is that Muḥammad Husain Mīrzā and Shāh M. were near Pattan and were waiting in ambush there for an opportunity to cause a commotion. Ibrāhīm Husain M., who had come away with disgrace from the battle-field of Sarnāl, joined those two rebels at Īdar. It is the nature of the dominion which is conjoined with eternity that dumbfounded enemies show an activity in upraising the standards of its victory which surpasses that of the loyal, and exert themselves for their own loss. Instances of this occur in this book of fortune. The new instance was this, that a discussion arose among the brothers about Ibrāhīm's defeat at Sarnāl. From criticism they came to violent language, and from that to a quarrel. Ibrāhīm Husain M., who was skilful as a swordsman and distinguished for his want of sense, was displeased with his brothers and separated from them, and foolishly resolved to make an attack on the capital. His haughty brothers, from their evil destiny, were glād of the departure of such a brother and did not try to appease him. When this news came to the ears of H.M., he appointed S. Maḥmūd K. Bīrha, Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram and Rajah Bhagwant Dās to the capital, so that they should follow Ibrāhīm Husain M. An order was also issued to Shāham Khān that he should retire from the siege of Cāmpānīr and hasten to Kālpī which was in his jāīgīr, as the general report was that the turbulent man (Ibrāhīm) had rushed off there. When the great officers reached the capital the commotion of Ibrāhīm Husain M. had already subsided and the eastern Afghans had raised up their heads. Mun'im Khān the Khān-Khānān was asking for help. Rajah Bihārī Mal, who had charge of the administration of the capital, sent the army off to the eastern provinces. It had reached Etawah

when Lūdī left Dāūd, and a stone of dispersion fell among that crew. Consequently it hastened back to the capital.

When the narrative has come so far it is necessary for the historian to give a brief account of the eastern provinces. The concise statement of this long story is that when Sulaimān Kararānī, who
20 had been one of Selīm Khān's officers, became possessed of Orissa Bihār and Bengal, he as being a hypocrite, did not openly cast aside the thread of obedience. He always sent petitions and presents and so kept himself known at court. On account of this adroitness the veil of his hypocrisy was not rent away. Whoever does not bind himself to the saddlestraps of such a lord of fortune (as Akbar) will some time have the dust of ruin cast upon his head and on the heads of those connected with him. Especially shall anyone who enters into opposition to his lord soon receive his retribution, and leave no trace of his dominion. The case of Sulaimān is a fresh instance of this truth. When he died the Afghans raised up Bāyazīd his eldest son in his stead. His elevation helped his folly, and he in conjunction with the vagabonds of that country, had the khutba read in his own name. In his presumption he abandoned the dissimulation by which his father had tamed the haughty and rebellious and proceeded to oppress and vex them. He made a practice of overthrowing his father's counsellors. Hansū, the son of his cousin 'Imād, who was his son-in-law and was on friendly terms with him, became annoyed at his bad behaviour, and being stirred up to ambition by instigators of strife he had Bāyazīd put to death. Thus did this wretch disregard so many ties and commit such an act and thereby produce a result which the imperial servants could not have accomplished by a thousand endeavours. Lūdī, who was the rational spirit of the country, in concert with other officers raised up Sulaimān's younger son Dāūd, and arrested Hānsū and put him to death. Gūjar Kararānī, who was the sword of the country, set up in Bihār the son of Bāyazīd, and Lūdī set out for Bihār from Bengal with a large force. From Mun'im Khān the Khān-Khanān's want of attention, and the tricks of Lūdī, Gūjar made out his expedition.

The brief¹ account of this is that when the death of Sulaimān became known, Mun'im Khān proceeded from Cunār towards Bihār.

¹ This part is translated in Elliot VI. 39.

At the same time Sikandar Uzbek died, which was good for himself and for others. The Khān-Khānān sent Tengrī Qulī, Farrakh Irghlīq and Payanda Muḥammad Sagkash and others against Hājīpūr, and Talibī, Mīrzā ‘Alī and Nadīm Beg and others against Patna. Gūjar was not able to withstand them, so he sent presents and professed concord, and promised that he would enter the royal service, and would co-operate in the conquest of Bengal. My request is, he said, that I may this day be enrolled among the servants **21** of the Shāhinshāh, and that Gorakhpūr may be given to me for my family and dependents, and that the province of Bihār be given in fief to the King’s officers, or that you leave Sarkār Hājīpūr and Bihār to me for this year that I may account for their produce to the State. Next year I can have my fief in Bengal.” Mun‘im Khān Khān-Khānān accepted his request, and was about to give him Gorakhpūr. Meanwhile Lūdī who was the manager¹ of these towns and the crafty one of the province, got information of the affair, and in conjunction with Hāshim Khān, who was always of two colours, spoilt the arrangement. When Gūjar became hopeless of Mun‘im Khān he of necessity arranged with Lūdī. Mun‘im Khān retired after receiving suitable presents from Lūdī.

At this time news came that Yūsuf Muḥammad had taken Gorakhpūr and was prepared for strife. The account of this event is that Mun‘im Khān had taken Yūsuf Muḥammad the son of Sulaimān Uzbek with him to court and had represented his disloyalty. H. M. the Shāhinshāh ordered him to be² imprisoned in order that he might be watched and reformed. When the royal standards had moved to Gujrat the wretch escaped from his prison in the capital, and joining with some other vagabonds he took Gorakhpūr from Payanda Muḥammad Sag-kash’s people. When the Khān-Khānān heard of this he sent off Jān Muḥammad Bahsūdī, Payanda Muḥammad Sag-kash, and Tengrī Qulī to quell this insurrection. He also set out in person from the town of Maḥmūdābād along with Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl and other officers. On the way, Majnūn Khān and the other Qāqshāls got suspicious and

¹ *Dimna*. A.F. apparently puns on the word, for *Dimna* though it means a steward or manager, is chiefly known as the name of one

of the crafty jackals in the *Anwār Suhailī*.

² This part is translated in Elliot VI. 39.

separated themselves from Mun'im Khān's army. The cause of this was that idle talkers and liars had spread a report that Bābā Khān Jabbārī, Mīrzā Muḥammad, Shāh Muḥammad and the other Qāqshāls who were in attendance on H.M. the Shāhinshāh in the Gujrat campaign had killed Shāhbāz Khān and had joined with the Mīrzās, and that H.M. had issued orders for Majnūn Khān's arrest. The Khān-Khānān sent Mīr Farīdūn, Muḥammad Khān Uzbek and Abū S'aīd to soothe Majnūn Khān and to bring him back. But though the envoys tried to contradict the rumours, they did not succeed. Meanwhile letters came from Bābā and Jabbārī full of the Shāhinshāh's graciousness and of their own good service. Majnūn Khān was ashamed of his behaviour and proceeded to join the Khān-Khānān's camp. The Khān-Khānān had taken Gorakhpūr and had returned when Majnūn Khān arrived. Various courtesies passed between them. Meanwhile the day of Dāūd's destruction approached, and in his presumption he went towards Jaunpur. He sent on in advance **22** of himself Lūdī with the best troops and the choice elephants. Lūdī came with a large force and took Zamāniya. Muḥammad Qāsīm Muhrdār surrendered it on terms. The Khān-Khānān sent *sazāwals* and collected the officers. He also sent ahead Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Majnūn Khān, Qiyā Khān, Rajah Gajpatī and a large body of troops. He himself marched slowly forward. At that time he took an omen from the Divan of the Mystic Tongue (Hāfiz) and this distich was found.

Verse.¹

O King of the beautiful, be just to the pain of my loneliness
Without thee, my heart is dying, 'tis time you return.

The Khān-Khānān quoted this ode in his petition and sent it to the court. He prayed for assistance from the holy mind of the Shāhinshāh, and went on to extinguish the flames of rebellion. Lūdī's presumption was increased by the capture of Zamāniya and he sent Yūsuf Muḥammad, who had fled from Gorakhpūr and joined the Afghans, across the Ganges with 5 or 6,000 men. M. Hasan Khān, Rajah Gajpatī, Nazr Bahādur and Tālibī, Tengrī Qulī and others of the servants of Mun'im Khān relied on the Shāhinshāh's fortune and waged war discreetly. The rebels were

¹ See Rosenzweig-Schwannau's Hāfiz III. 12, also Elliot IV. 510.

defeated, and a number were slain, and many drowned. After this victory Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās and other officers joined the imperial forces, and an army was drawn up in Ghāzīpūr. The Khān-Khānān, too, joined them with a suitable body of troops. Lūdī built a fort between the Sīāh Āb and the Ganges and took post with a large army. Every day there were single combats between the brave men on both sides. Though the generals waged war manfully yet the enemy was superior in men, elephants and guns. As the imperial standards were engaged in the siege of Surat, Mun'im Khān proposed a peace. Lūdī in his haughtiness did not agree. The generals were in a strange position. To fight was not advisable, and it was difficult to retreat. Suddenly the good news of the Shāhinshāh's success arrived, and Lūdī eagerly made peace and retreated.

The account of this instructive occurrence is that when Dāūd went from Bengal to Monghyr, he put to death Yūsuf, the son of Tāj and his own cousin, from apprehension that Lūdī would set him up. Though this idea was really caused by the Shāhinshāh's good fortune, yet apparently it was the result of remarks by envious people. As Lūdī was an old servant of Tāj, and his daughter was betrothed to that son (Yūsuf), Dāūd believed whatever the evil-thoughted said about Lūdī. When the news came to Lūdī he left Dāūd, and with great urgency made an arrangement with Mun'im Khān, and sent suitable presents to court. When Dāūd heard that Lūdī had turned gainst him and was coming, he retreated in great confusion and fortified Garhī. He also distributed his father's treasures among the soldiers. Jalāl Khān Sadhaurī, and Kālā Pahār, who was called Rājū, left Lūdī, and a discussion broke out among his followers. Lūdī, who was marching against Dāūd, was obliged to retreat and take refuge in Rhotās, and ask assistance from Mun'im Khān. He plainly wrote that he had become a servant of the Court and that he wished to see him speedily, and hoped that by his help he would be exalted by kissing the threshold. Mun'im Khān sent assistance to him and waited for the arrival of the royal standards. Whither have my words gone, and how far have they carried me for the sake of enlivening my discourse?

One of the occurrences during the siege of Surat was the defeat of Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and other rebels.

CHAPTER V.

BATTLE OF KHĀN A'AZAM M. 'AZĪZ KOKALTĀSH WITH MUHAMMAD
HUSAIN M. AND THE FŪLĀDĪĀNS, AND THEIR DEFEAT.

The sage and acute-minded man knows that whenever the lord of the earth forms a right design, and engages in the tranquillising of mankind, the servants of the threshold of fortune become loyal under his auspicious guidance, and with one heart and endeavour recognise the work of their king, their teacher and benefactor, as the Divine command, and devote themselves to his service. The world's work is adorned and glorious actions are revealed. At once does the sovereign of the world become successful, spiritually and materially, and the loyal pass by their own loss and gain, and recognise the service of the sultanate to be the highest form of Divine worship. Thus they perform services such as seldom appeared in the times of former rulers. This tale of a great victory is an instance of this. The brief account of this Divine aid is that when Ibrāhīm Husain M. was driven out of Gujrat by the Shāhinshāh's fortune and went off towards the capital, Muhammad Husain M. and Shāh M. and the Fūlādians, who were in the hills in a disorganised state, made a compact and came down upon the city of Pattan. Saiyid Ahmad Khān exerted himself to defend the fort. When the news of the gathering of the rebels reached Khān A'azim, he assembled his forces, and by a happy coincidence Sher Beg Tawācī, who had been sent to fetch the Malwa officers, added to them Qutbu-d-dīn Muhammad Khān, Shah Budāgh Khān, Muttalib Khān and the other fief-holders of Malwa. The Khān A'azim also sent persons and recalled Shaikh Muhammad Bukhārī who was in Dūlqa, and who was preparing, under royal orders, to go to Surat.

When the officers were assembled, the Khān A'azim proceeded to arrange his forces in a proper manner. He himself took charge of the centre. Shāh Budāgh Khān, M'uīnu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān Farankhūdī and his son Ma'sūm Khān, and Muttalib Khān and a large number were stationed there. Qutbu-d-dīn Muhammad Khān, Mīr

Jamālu-d-dīn Husain Injū¹ held the right wing, and his (whose ?) men were on the flank of the right wing. Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī, Muḥammad Murād Khān, Shāh Muḥammad Khān and Hājī Khān Afghān, the son of Khwaṣ Khān, adorned the left wing. Shāh Fakhrū-d-dīn, Mozaffar Moghal and Payīnda Arlāt were on the flank of the left wing. Dastam Khān, Naurang Khān, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqbāi and Mihr 'Alī Silduz were in the van. Bāz Bahādur and a number of others formed the *altimash*. After arranging his forces the Khān A'azim proceeded towards Nahrwāla which is best known as Pattan. On the day of Gosh, 14 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Friday, 18 Ramazān, 22 January 1573, the army reached the neighbourhood of Pattan. The enemy abandoned the siege and faced the victorious army. Sher Khān Fūlādī and Junaid Kararānī commanded the centre. Muḥammad Husain M., Shāh M. and 'Aāqil Husain M. commanded the right wing. Muḥammad Khān the eldest son of Sher Khān and Sādāt Khān held the left wing. Bidar Khān the younger son of Sher Khān Fūlādī commanded the van. The rebels did not intend that the fighting should begin that day, as the son of Jujhār Khān and other seditious ones had not yet joined them. Sher Khān Fūlādī, by a feline stratagem, sent men to Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī and proposed a reconciliation. Many of the leading men of the army who sought for safety did not consider properly and were disposed to peace. Shah Budagh Khān whispered to the Khān A'azim, "Beware, and do not agree to peace: the object of this crooked-minded crew is to put off the time." The Khān A'azim replied, "My opinion is the same as yours. As the minds of the officers were inclined for peace, and they did not understand the matter, and Sher Khān's agents used deceitful language, the Khān A'azim said, "If you are really for peace retire from the place where you are and encamp until we come to you, for it is not seemly **25** for us to retreat." As the words of this crew were deceitful and had no sincerity about them, they did not agree to this proposition. The imperial officers proceeded to the battle-field. And as it was generally stated that the Mīrzās would take the victorious army in the rear,

¹ Ānjū in text. He is the author of the "Farhang Jahāngīr." See Rieu Pers. Cat. II. 496. He is mentioned

very favourably in Sir Thomas Roe's Journal: see Foster, Hakluyt Society, 238.

Mīrzā Muqīm, Carkis Khān and a number of brave men were stationed on the rear of the centre.

When the two armies approached one another the left wing of the enemy attacked the imperial right wing, and drove off most of Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān's men. The Khān kept his ground manfully with a few of his followers. He smote ¹ with his sword between the two tusks of one of the enemy's elephants and so excited admiration. The vanguard of the ill-fated rebels attacked the imperial vanguard. Naurang ² Khān's elephant, which was *mast*, attacked a horseman of his own army and crushed him. Just then the brave men of the enemy's vanguard drove off the imperial vanguard. The *altimash* (reserve), too, could not stand and showed cowardice. In their flight some ran to the right and some to the left. The Afghans followed them up. About 500 horses came in front of the Khān A'āzim and were soon dispersed. The other body, which had driven off the vanguard and the *altimash*, came upon the left wing of the imperial army. Most of the latter lost courage, and Murād ³ Khān made himself a spectacle by withdrawing himself. Shāh Muḥammad Khān was wounded and carried off by his servants to Aḥmadābād. Shaiḫ Muḥammad Bokhārī ⁴ with a few of his relatives, such as the son of Saiyid Bahāū-d-dīn, Saiyid J'afar the brother of Shaiḫ Farīd and others, displayed courage and offered up their lives. The rebels thought that they had gained the victory and turned to plunder. The Mīrzās came in person against Mīr Fākhru-d-dīn Khān and his people. The Mīr made some resistance, but could not maintain a firm footing. Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān remained with a few men and showed a firm front against the enemy. When the rebels had driven off Quṭbu-d-dīn's troops and had come to the baggage and were occupied in plundering, Quṭbu-d-dīn came upon them from behind and attacked them. By the Divine help a thorough victory succeeded to a complete defeat. The Khān A'āzim and the heroes of the imperial centre drove off the black-thoughted Afghans and turned against the enemy's centre which was advancing against

¹ It is not quite clear if it was Quṭbu-d-dīn himself who struck the blow.

² Quṭbu-d-dīn's son.

³ Blochmann 373.

⁴ Blochmann 396. The notice of Muḥammad Bukhārī here gives a good account of the battle. See also Badāūnī, Lowe 153-54.

Qutbu-d-dīn. As most of the enemy's men had hastened off to plunder, they lost heart on seeing this force, and solely by the Divine favour did so glorious a victory show itself. The Khān 26 A'azim stood with his men on the top of the ridge and rejoiced in the shouts of victory. At this time the Mīrzās appeared. They had, after severe fighting, driven off the flank of the left wing and had pursued it for two *kos*. This was a great boon. If they had gone against the centre affairs would have been critical. When they had gone far, and their men had dispersed to plunder, they heard of the defeat of Shēr Khān and returned to the battle-field. In fact, if they had followed up those whom they had driven off to Aḥmadābād, they would have been successful. But from their evil fate they proceeded towards the ground of the battle. The Khān A'āzīm was drawn up in battle-array with many faithful heroes when the army of the Mīrzās approached, and Shāh Budāgh K. said, "Now is the time to attack." K. A'azim was about to do so, when Yār M. seized his rein, saying, "Many officers are standing still. How can you attack?" When the Mīrzās came nearer they saw the real greatness of the imperial army, which was adorned by a spiritual force, and did not think it fit to engage, and as their evil fate was written on their foreheads they turned their rein and took to flight. By the Divine favour a difficult task became easy. If the heroes had pursued them, hardly any of them would have escaped. Apparently those who made a practice of caution did not think it proper to put the matter to the test, or else they listened to the opportunists and the evil-intentioned. In fine, most of the officers in seeing this mysterious favour bound fresh threads of devotion round their necks and increased in single-mindedness.

One of ¹ the wonderful things which happened on that fortunate day was that a *mast* elephant belonging to the enemy's army, whose driver had been pinned by an arrow and killed, went about of its own accord, and approached wherever it heard the sound of the drums

¹ Add. 27, 247 tells this story in different language and gives the name of the elephant (Barbīr). It says that it was after the victory and when the drums of joy were beating

that the elephant appeared, that the horsemen tried in vain to catch it, and that it was only by stopping the beating of the drums that it was caught.

and there scattered the troops. The drums of joy, which were sounding in every corps, stopped for a while, and the elephant's turbulence ceased. He was caught by Shāh Budāgh Khān's men, and formed part of the *peshkash* (present to Akbar).

When the ill-fated crew was defeated, Shēr Khān Fūlādī hastened off to Jūnagarh, and the Mīrzās went to the Deccan. The Khān A'azim and the officers pursued them. When the good news of the Divine favour reached H. M's ears he offered thanks to God, and then issued orders that the Khān A'azim should send Qutbu-d-dīn Khān, Shāh Budāgh Khān, Murād Khān, Mihr 'Alī Sildūz and a
27 body of troops in pursuit of the rebels, and that he should himself come and do homage. The Khān A'azim had come to the district of Sarnāl in company with Dastam Khān, Naurang Khān, Matṭalib Khān and M'aṣūm Khān when Razavī¹ Khān brought the *firmān*. The Khān A'azim received it with respect and kissed the threshold on the day of Daibamihr 15 Isfandārmaz Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 20 Shawwāl, 23 February 1573, and was graciously received.

One ² of the things which happened during the siege of Surat was the arrival of Mozaffar Khān. It has been already mentioned the Shāhinshāh's kindness had forgiven his incompatibilities and had sent for him. When he reached Aḥmadābād, the Khān A'azim had gone to put down the Mīrzās. Although it had been intimated to him (by the Khān A'azim) that it was proper that he should co-operate in this task, he did not do so, and threw away such an opportunity of service. He continued his journey and came to Baroda when the royal *firmān* reached him. The purport of it was that he should turn back from whatever place he had reached, and hasten to the Khān A'azim's assistance. He was obliged to turn back. When he came to Aḥmadābād it appeared that the imperial servants had been victorious, and that the Khān A'azim was proceeding to court in accordance with the sacred orders. Thereupon Mozaffar Khān proceeded rapidly to court, and had the bliss of performing the *kornish*

¹ Blochmann 438.

² This paragraph differs somewhat in Add. 27, 247. It says nothing about Mozaffar's recalcitrancy in not

joining the Khān A'azam. It says he returned to Aḥmadābād on 1 Shawwāl and arrived in Sūrat two days before the K.A.

before the arrival of the Khān A'azim. He was received with princely favours.

One of the occurrences of the siege was that a large number of Christians came from the port of Goa and its neighbourhood to the foot of the sublime throne, and were rewarded by the bliss of an interview (*mulāzamat*). Apparently they had come at the request of the besieged in order that the latter might make the fort over to them, and so convey themselves to the shore of safety. But when that crew saw the majesty of the imperial power, and had become cognisant of the largeness of the army, and of the extent of the siege-train, they represented themselves as ambassadors and performed the *kor-nish*. They produced many of the rarities of their country, and the appreciative Khedive received each one of them with special favour and made inquiries about the wonders of Portugal and the manners and customs of Europe. It seemed as if he did this from a desire of knowledge, for his sacred heart is a depôt of spiritual and physical sciences. But his boding soul wished that these inquiries might be the means of civilising (*istīnās*, i.e. familiarity or sociability) this savage race.¹

¹ Add. 27, 247, pp. 242*b* and 243*a*, describes this interesting incident differently. It gives the speech made by the pretended ambassadors and ends by saying that Akbar treated them graciously as long as they remained in attendance. In Bird's Gujrat, p. 320, it is stated that the besieged had invited the Portuguese and offered to give them the fort. See also *Mirāt Ahmadi Bom. lith.*, p. 124, where the Portuguese intrigue is described. My friend Mr. Whiteway has referred me to Diego da Couto's account of this period in his 9th Decade, Chap. XIII., p. 63 *et seq.*, Lisbon 1786. Couto's chronology is confused, and he does not say distinctly where the ambassadors were received. I am of opinion, however, that the embassy described by

him, and which was under the charge of Antonio Cabral, and that mentioned by A.F., refer to one and the same occurrence. The difficulty in reconciling the statements is due in part, I think, to A.F.'s conciseness, for at times he errs by defect quite as much as by redundancy. Just as he says that the Turkish guns were brought to Surat by Sulaimān, while what he must mean is that Sulaimān brought them to Diu, and that Şafar Āghā afterwards had them conveyed to Surat, so does he speak of a great number of Christians coming to Surat, while probably what occurred was that the Portuguese Viceroy and his fleet came to Daman in order to see what could be made out of the troubles in Gujrat. As in former days they came to

Footnote 1.—(Continued).

Diu to help Bahādur and ended by getting possession of the fort, so this time the Viceroy may have hoped to make a similar stroke by coming to Surat to help the Mīrzās and then getting possession of the fort. So he came to Daman with his fleet, presumably after an invitation from the Mīrzās, and then when he found that Akbar was too strong, he changed his plan and sent an embassy to Surat to Akbar. It is quite possible, too, as Couto states, that Akbar had already sent an embassy to the Viceroy. Akbar had his harem with him, and several of his ladies wished to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, and for that purpose it was necessary to conciliate the Portuguese. Perhaps the "mother" of Akbar referred to by Couto was his step-mother Hājī Begam who appears to have gone on pilgrimage at this time, but it may have been Miriam Makānī, Akbar's own mother. Gulbadan Begam, too, may have been one of the proposed party, for we know that she had for a long time wished to go on pilgrimage though she was unable to do so till two or three years later. Couto gives

a translation of Akbar's *firmān* dated 18 March 1573. This is ten days after Akbar had left Surat. Possibly it was granted at Broach where Akbar halted on his way from Surat to Aḥmadabad. Couto also describes Akbar as being visited by the Portuguese merchants at Cambay and as assuming the Portuguese dress there, and as allowing the Portuguese to kiss his hand. He says Akbar had to leave Gujrat on account of the Lukios who were as troublesome to him in the north as the Afghans in the east. I conjecture that by the Lukios the Bilūcīs are meant, though Akbar's real trouble then in the north was from Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. According to A.F. it was the Bilūcīs who eventually rid Akbar of his enemy, though Niẓāmu-d-dīn and Badāūnī represent the assailants of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain as Jhils. Couto's narrative has also been used by Danvers in his *Portuguese in India*, II. 4. Possibly his Lukios are the Langahs, an Afghan tribe who at one time held Multan; or they may be the inhabitants of the Lakhi forest.

CHAPTER VI.

THE OPENING¹ OF THE FORT OF SURAT BY THE KEY OF THE LOFTY 28
GENIUS OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH.

Why should I mention the awakened of heart and the profound and the far-sighted? The superficial and the practical clearly perceive that those connected with this eternal fortune make, merely from such a connexion, conquests which do not even occur as possible to the solvers of difficulties. Especially they do this when to such connection there is added the auspiciousness of devotion; and most of all if they be of that fortunate band which has been exalted by the degrees² of loyalty toward the Khedive of horizons, how successful are they in their glorious enterprises! Consequently every task which this one who has been magnified by God (Akbar) does personally, comes forth gloriously and without the veil of delay. The few days which wear the appearance of retardation seem to be the result of the Divine wisdom which requires them in order that the inscriptions of the degrees of devotion of the loyal, and the grades of each one's service may be recorded on the portico of visibility, that the jewels of ability may be polished, and the world's lord's method of educating men may be revealed to the world, and that the gold encrusted copper may be placed in the dissolving crucible and the coin of the realm be purified, and that the testing may be carried out to the uttermost.

In fine, through the Divine favour the taking of this strong fortress, which the sagacious would not have imagined possible even after years of siege, was accomplished by the supervision of the Shāhinshāh in the period of one month and seventeen days. The pioneers made from a long distance trenches and so brought themselves to the walls and began to break them down, and the alert

¹ A. F. puns on the word *fath* which means both conquering and opening. The word for key is *miftāḥ* which is a derivative from *fath*.

² The reference is to the four degrees of loyalty to be exhibited by Akbar's servants. See B. V. n. 1 and 177.

servants raised mounds (*tilhā*) around it, and from them showered bullets on the garrison, and the bombardiers also performed marvels. When the presumptuous garrison perceived the true state of the case, and awoke from their slumbrousness, they opened the door of entreaty and supplication. Hamzabān sent his father-in-law Mullā Nizāmu-d-dīn Lārī to the sublime court, and he, having been introduced by those who had the right of audience, represented in skilful language the dismay of the garrison. That adroit and eloquent man represented to the lord, who is the friend of the wretched and the succourer of the miserable, the lamentations and prayers of that crew. The heart of the Khedive of horizons inclined towards him, and the boundless ocean of his benevolence was put in motion. Though the supplications were the result of necessity, and though the grandees who had the right of speech spoke against the exhibition of clemency, they were not listened to. On the contrary their urgency for punishment increased the graciousness of that world-giver. He soothed each one of his intimates by special addresses. Those who were heavenly in character he rejoiced by Divine utterances, and those who were earthly he brought into repose by worldly arguments (*maqālāt kaunī*). In accordance with his (Nizāmu-d-dīn's) petition he sent Qāsim 'Ali Khān and Khwāja Dost Kilān, 29 (Daulat)¹ who were associates both in the battle and in the banquet, to reassure Hamzabān and the rest of the garrison and to bring them to the place of prostration. On the day of *Rashn* 18 Isfandārmāz, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday, 23 Shawwāl (26 February 1573), the stiff-necked ones of the fort did homage with a thousand supplications. The Shāhinshāh's graciousness received into the reservoir of his protection the lives, the property and the honour of all the shame-faced evil-doers. But they cut² the tongue of Hamzabān, as it was always uttering futilities. Some others, whom prudence required should be kept for some days under restraint, were put into confinement. Next day H.M. surveyed the fort, and ordered that some large mortars (*deg*, but perhaps only cannon) which were called Sulaimānī, should be conveyed to the

¹ The variant Daulat is supported by MSS. 27, 247 and 26, 207, and by Badāūnī.

² *sabān barīdand*. A. F. puns on the name Hamzabān "of like tongue."

capital.¹ It appeared that they had belonged to Sultān Sulaiman, the ruler of Turkey (Rūm). He had intended to take possession of the European ports on the borders of Hindustan, and had sent great mortars along with a numerous army. But as the governors of Gujrat did not assist properly, the troops were distressed for provisions and had to return. Nor were they able to take with them those large guns.²

One of the things which happened, after the conquest of Surat, was the coming to Court of Baharjī,³ the ruler of Baglāna, who was an influential landholder in that part of the country. He brought with him to Court Sharfu-d-dīn Husain M. with a chain round his neck. The just Creator hath glorified this adorer of the Sultanate from the beginning of his power so that the seekers after bliss may rise to high degrees of felicity by recognising and obeying him, and that the auspicious and loyal may increase their devotion. One of the great favours which has been bestowed on this Khedive of God-knowers is that whoever withdraws himself from obedience to him either becomes a vagabond in the desert of destruction, and is brought to be in need of the threshold which is high as heaven. Or else he descends into the whirlpool of evils and is conveyed by his own bad deeds into the Presence. A fresh proof of this was afforded by this Khwāja's son. The brief account of this is that from the time when this weak-headed

¹ Bird 322 says they were not removed to the capital.

² The expedition here referred to took place in 1538. The Sultan of Turkey mentioned by A.F. is Sulaimān the Great, the son of Selīm. He sent his army and fleet after the death of Bahādur Shāh under the command of a Greek called Sulaimān Pasha. He reached Diu on 4 September 1538 and besieged it, but the Portuguese made a brave defence and Sulaimān abandoned the siege in 6 November. See Whiteway's "Rise of the Portuguese Power in India," pp. 256 and 265. Sulaimān had lan-

ded some heavy artillery for Şafar Agha (Rūmī Khān, also Khudāwand Khān) to put in position. Afterwards Şafar Agha brought these guns to Surat. Add. 27, 247 has a different wording (p. 243b and 244a) and says that some of the guns are now in Jūnagarh. It says that the Turkish expedition was unsuccessful because the rulers of Gujrat regarded the Turks as more formidable than the Fāringhīs and so sided with the latter, and did not supply the Turkish fleet with provisions.

³ Baharjīo in some MSS and in Badāyūnī.

and infatuated one did not understand the teaching of the Shāhinshāh and adopted evil thoughts of being supreme, and trod the path of faithlessness, he became a vagabond and wandered from door to door of every one, high or low, and gave his honour to the dust of disgrace. Why shall I say this? He revealed his own baseness. Firstly, he gave to the Fūlādīs Jalaur which had been recently taken (by him) by the backing of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, and joined himself to these wretches. He spent some time in Pattan, and from there repaired to Cingīz Khān, and when the cup of the latter's life was spilled, he joined the Mīrzās. When the

30 ruler of Khāndesh came with designs against Gujrat, and failed and retraced his steps with loss, Sharafu-d-dīn joined him. Then he came back in wretchedness and associated himself with Muḥammad Husain M. When the world-conquering standards came to conquer Gujrat, and a stone of dissension fell among the rebels of that country, this Khawājazāda should have come to worship at Court and made amendment for his crimes, but as he was radically bad he hasted away to the Deccan. He had to pass through the territories of the aforesaid zamindar, and he, either from a desire of being loyal, or for his own advantage, imprisoned the Mīrzā, and plundered all his goods. He also endeavoured to arrest Ibrāhīm Husain M.'s wife and children when they passed through the country, but did not succeed, though the two-years old daughter of Ibrāhīm M. fell into his hands. When H.M. heard of this he sent Mīr Khān Yesāwal to bring the landholder and his prisoners to Court. And as it appeared that the ruler of Khāndesh had sent his brother Raja 'Ali Khān to Court, and that he had reached the territory of Nadarbār, but was now being detained by the petty notions usual with landholders, an order was given to Mīr Khān to bring him also. After that H.M. sent Jotik¹ Rai, Jai Tawācī-bāshī and Balbadhar² brahman that they might extricate the landholder aforesaid from the thorn-brake of delay, and that he might invigorate his brain by gathering the flowers of the garden of service. These envoys obeyed the order and brought him and his prisoners to Court. The innocent daughter³ was taken under the shadow of H.M's protection and

¹ The Court astrologer. Blochmann, 404 n.

² Blochmann, 501.

³ This was Nūru-nisā who after-

made over to the guardians of the harem. The Khwājazāda was frightened by means of an elephant which was not a manslayer, and as the sovereign was just and from extreme graciousness did not kill criminals, he was put in prison. For, keen inspection and profound consideration are requisite before destroying what has been founded by God (*i.e.* life).

Let it not be concealed that Baglāna¹ is a country one hundred *kos* long and thirty *kos* broad. It has 2,000 horse and 16,000 infantry. Its revenue is 6½ *kror* of *dāms*. Whoever is the ruler, is called Baharjī. There are two forts—Sālhīr and Mūlhīr on the summits of hills. It has also two large cities—Antāpūr and Cintāpūr. It lies between Gujrat and the Deccan; and it submits to whichever of the two is the stronger. At this time, when Gujrat came into the possession of the imperial servants, the ruler, being awed by the majesty and might of the Shāhinshāh, did good service and brightened his countenance by performing the prostration.

One of the occurrences was that an injury happened to H. M.'s 31 hand; but it was cured. The brief account of this instructive catastrophe is that the sitter on the throne of the Caliphate is always shrouding himself under a special screen, while the stewards of fate are ever removing this screen and displaying the spiritual and physical glories of him who has been magnified by God. One night there was a select drinking-party. Discourse fell upon the bravery of the heroes of Hindustan, and it was stated that they paid no regard to their lives. For instance, some Rajputs would hold a double-headed spear, and two men, who were equally-matched,² would run from opposite sides against the points, so the latter would transfix them and come out at their backs. That Divine wrestler of the world, for the sake of screening his glory, or for testing men, or from

wards married Jahāngīr. Blochmann, 464 and 477 note 2. In Price's Jahāngīr 21, she is called Shāei Begam. Perhaps she is the Nūr Seraī Maḥal who died in the 15th year of Jahāngīr's reign. Tūzuk 323.

¹ Jarrett, II. 251. The number of horse is there stated to be 3,000. See account of Baglāna, called there Bag-

lan, in Bomb. Gazetteer, XVI, 399 *et seq.* It is a northern subdivision of Nāsik. See also extract from Bādshahnāma, Elliot VII, 65, and Bird's Gujrat 122 and n. The revenue of Baglāna as stated by A.F. would come to about Rs. 1,62,500.

² *Hamsir*, perhaps rivals.

the melancholy¹ engendered by his being in the outer world, fastened the hilt of his special sword to a wall, and placing the point near his sacred breast declared that if Rajputs were wont to sell their valour in their² way, he would rush against this sword. Awe fell upon those who were standing at the feast, and none had the power to utter a word, nor even to offer any opposition. Just then Mān Singh ran with the foot of fidelity and gave such a blow with his hand that the sword fell down and made a cut between H.M.'s thumb and his index-finger. Those present removed the sword and H.M. angrily flung Mān Singh on the ground and squeezed him. Saiyid Moẓaffar³ foolishly tried to free him from the grasp of that tiger of God and by twisting his wounded finger released Mān Singh. This increased the wound, but by the Divine protection it soon healed.

When H.M.'s mind was at rest about the affairs of that country, he committed the charge of that lofty fortress (Surat) to Qulīj⁴ Khān and gave him weighty counsels. On the day of Mār Isfand 29 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 3 Zi-l-q'aada, 8 March 1573, he proceeded to Aḥmadābād, and at this time too Rajah 'Ali Khān was honoured by kissing the threshold.⁵

¹ Cf. text p. 89 near top. A. F. means apparently that outward existence or social life was distasteful to Akbar. I do not think that A. F. means that Akbar was intoxicated; *nishāh-i-ẓāhīr* is used by A. F. to mean appearances, e.g., text III. 43, 9 lines from the foot, where the phrase is put into Akbar's mouth. *Nisha* also means intoxication. Du Jarric describes Akbar as being melancholy by nature.

² The Iqbāl-nāma represents Akbar as saying that the two Rajputs who killed themselves in this way were rivals and at feud with one another. He had no rival and no feud with any one (*ham-sir u ham-khashm na dārīm*) and so he would pit himself

against the sword. So also Mirāt Aḥmadī, Bom. lith. 125.

³ The Mirāt Aḥmadī says he was the brother of Saiyid 'Abdullah K. (B. 465). Probably he is the Saiyid Moẓaffar mentioned in Akbar's letter to the priests of Goa.

⁴ Blochmann 34 n. 2. Badāūni says the fort was put in charge of Qulīj's son.

⁵ As before noted, Add. 27, 247 differs considerably from the other MSS. It speaks of the Faringhī ambassadors asking to be allowed to inspect the fort of Surat after its capture, and at p. 244b it tells a story about Akbar when in a state of intoxication attacking Shabbāz Khān

CHAPTER VII.

BEGINNING OF THE 18TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, *viz.*,
THE YEAR SHAHRIYŪR OF THE SECOND CYCLE.

During this auspicious time the shining standards of the Sultan of spring (the sun) polished the mirror of dispositions ; the gardens were adorned by the silks of the rose and the satins of the jasmine. The north winds and the zephyrs swept away the weeds and rubbish of autumn from the rose-garden of the world, and the temperate breezes, equable as the justice of the Shahinshāh, produced wondrous 32 effects, and mortals blossomed into new and glorious actions.

*Verse.*¹

The parterre from its lightness sought to fly
The jasmine from its delicacy sought to melt
The wind wrote with the hand of hope
The story of the rose on the page of the willow
The jasmine and rose formed a caravan
The turtle and nightingale joined in cadence
Whiles Spring came to salute the parterre
Whiles the rose tore her breast in adoration (?)
The recorders of the garden assembled,
The nightingale decreed the death of the crow.

After the lapse of eight minutes and seven seconds of the night of Wednesday the 6th Zī-ul-q'aada 980 of the lunar year (12 March

with a dagger because he would not perform in a singing-party.

The T. A. says that Akbar reached Aḥmadābād on the last day of Zī-al-q'aada, 3 April 1573.

¹ These lines are a cento from Nizāmī's *Malḥzanu asrār*. The first two lines occur in Bland's ed., p. 23, line 609 ; the next four are at p. 32, line 598, etc. But Bland has *qiṣṣa dil*

instead of *gul*. The next two are at line 595, and the next two are at line 599, but Bland has *az dar-i-gul* instead of *bar-i-gul*, and *sip-ās* instead of *satāīsh*. The two last lines are at p. 33, line 621. The 'recorders of the garden' are the birds. Apparently the nightingale decreed the death of the crow, or the raven, on account of its croaking.

1573) the great light which illuminates the world shed his rays on the mansion of Aries, and the elemental world received the glory of the spiritual kingdom. One of the great acts of the justice of the Shāhinshāh, which was revealed in the beginning of this year was the infliction of capital punishment on Jujhār Khān, the Abyssinian, who was one of the great officers of Gujrat, and was distinguished for his influence. When the borders of Broach were brightened by the standards of fortune, the mother of Cingiz Khān demanded justice at the sublime Court, alleging that the greedy (*zarmast*) Abyssinian had come under the guise of friendship and killed her son. Though the report was widely spread, and many in the camp asserted it, and it has already¹ been mentioned, yet as many incorrect and seemingly true stories are current, there was need for caution and consideration. So an order was issued that wise and impartial men should inquire fully into the case, and should report the result of their examination of witnesses, etc. They investigated and found that the charge was true, and an order was issued that the destroyer of God's handiwork should undergo capital punishment. So he was thrown under the feet of an elephant in the presence of high and low. The old and deserted woman never imagined that so powerful a man would be punished for misdeeds, and was astonished on beholding such justice. She returned thanks to the Khedive of God-knowers, and the general public received enlightenment from this just sentence. The black-minded and presumptuous sunk their heads in the collar of obscurity.

33

When the sacred cortège neared Aḥmadābād, the inhabitants went forth to meet and welcome H.M. On the day of Dīn 24 Farwardīn, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 29 Zī-l-q'aada, H.M. encamped in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadābād. In ten days the affairs of the country were arranged. He made over the charge of the province to the Khān A'azam. Sarkār Pattan was bestowed on the Khān Kilān. Dhūlqa and Dandoqah were given to Saiyid Ḥāmid² Bokhārī, and similarly other estates were given to others.

¹ There is no direct mention of Cingiz' assassination in the previous pages of the Akbarnāma. There is only an allusion to his death in the account of Sharfu-d-dīn, p. 29, two

lines from foot. There is an account of Cingiz Khān's assassination in the T. A. near the end of the chapter on the kings of Gujrat.

² Blochmann, 397.

Though the Khân Kilân and Qutbu-d-dîn Muḥammad Khân were the uncles of the Khân A'azam and were old, yet the far-sightedness of the Shāhinshāh put them in a subordinate position, for in the code of just sovereignty weight is given to wisdom and not to years, and reliance is placed upon abundance of loyalty, and not upon age. Far-sightedness is the pillar, not bodily bulk. Intellect is the substantive thing, not the largeness of the visible body. The foundation of appointments is talents and virtues, and the qualities of ancestors are not regarded.

CHAPTER VIII.

RETURN OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S CORTÈGE TO AGRA AFTER THE CONQUEST OF GUJRAT.

When the Shāhinshāh's sublime genius had done with the conquest of this extensive country, and had punished the haughty and presumptuous, and had rewarded the loyal, and had arranged for the administration of the country he, after celebrating the festival of the Īd,¹ proceeded on the day of Ardibihist 3 Ardibihisht, Divine month, corresponding to Monday 10 Zī ul-hajj, 13 April 1573, by way of Pattan and Jālaur towards the capital. When the standards of fortune reached Sidhpūr² he renewed his instructions to the Khān A'azam. Especially did he exhort him to be active-minded and of wide capacity, and to overlook men's errors, and to accept the excuses of the faulty, and to proceed with great consideration in the disposal of disputes, and to treat impartially friends and foes. On the same day he graciously received and treated with favours the officers who had fiefs in that part of the country, and then allowed them to depart. Rajah 'Ali Khān too was received with princely favours and then returned to Khāndesh. Mozaffar Khān received the government of the province of Mālwa and was sent there. Mān Singh 34 Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, Murād Khān, Muḥammad Qulī Khān, Saiyid 'Abdullah, Jagannāth, Rajah Gopāl,³ Bahādur Khān, Lashkar Khān, Jalāl Khān, Bhoj⁴ and a number of others were ordered to hasten to Dūngarpūr, by way of Īdar, and from there to come on to the capital. The Rānā and other zamindars⁵ of the neighbourhood were

¹ The 'Id-uz-zaha which occurs on 10 Zī-ul-hajj.

² The I. A. has Haibatpūr and says Akbar arrived there on 18 Zī-l-hajj. The Khān A'azam left Akbar here. Sidhpūr, however, seems right. It is in Baroda. See *Bomb. Gazetteer*, VII., 616. It is 64 miles north of

Aḥmadābād.

³ Blochmann 502, 532.

⁴ Blochmann 458.

⁵ The reference is to the Rānā of Udaipūr. The result of Mān Singh's deputation is given later on. The zamindar of 'Idar was Narain Dās Rathor.

to be treated with princely favours and to be brought to do homage, and the disobedient were to be punished.

When the world-conquering armies had been deputed, the Shāhinshāh proceeded stage by stage. On the day that he reached Sirohī, Mādhū¹ Singh and a number of men were sent to fetch that nursling of fortune's garden, Shahzāda Sultān Daniel, who had been conveyed from Ajmīr to Amber, in order that he might be brought back to Ajmīr, and might come under the shadow of the Presence. In order to do honour to Rajah Bhagwān Dās, his auspicious sister,² who held high rank in the imperial harem, was sent off in order that she might be present at the mourning for Bhūpat, who had fallen in the battle of Sarnāl.

When H.M. reached Sirohī, a letter came from the Punjab officers announcing that Ibrāhīm Husain M. had gone there with evil intentions, and that he had been properly punished and made a prisoner, and that mankind had thus been rescued from the flames of his sedition. The short account of this Providential help is as follows: Ibrāhīm Husain M., who had rebelled against the spiritual and material lord, had been defeated and become a vagabond and had joined his brothers in Īdar. The Shāhinshāh's fortune had produced dissension among them, as has already been related, and he had gone off to the metropolitan province, taking with him his younger brother Maś'aūd M. He had come by Jālaur and Jodhpūr to Nāgor. Farrukh Khān, the son of the Khān Kilān, had been appointed to the command there, and he undertook the defence of the town. The Mīrzā proceeded to invest it, and matters were almost past remedy when Rai Raisingh, Mīrak Kolābī, Muḥammad Husain Shaikh, and a number of others whom H.M. had left in Jodhpūr when he went to conquer Gujrat, as well as Rai Rām, the son of Māldeo, who held Sūjat as his fief, and Naqib Khān, Mīr³ Ghiāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī, and a number of men who had bound on the dress of service and were on their way to Gujrat, joined together and marched in pursuit of the Mīrzā. When 35 they came near, he withdrew from the siege and went on faster. On the day of Sarosh 17 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 3

¹ Son of Rajah Bhagwān Dās.

² This was Akbar's wife and the mother of Jahāngīr.

³ The text has *walad*, son of, but

this is a mistake. Mīr Ghiāṣu-d-dīn was another name of NaqībīK., and he was the son of 'Abdul Latīf.

Ramzān, 7th January, 1573, the loyalists arrived at Nāgor, and Farrukh Khān joined them. The officers were doubtful about pursuing the Mīrza, but at length, on the urgency of Rai Rai Singh, they became all of one accord and set off next day in pursuit. At the end of the day, near a village called Kahntonī,¹ and which is a dependancy of Nāgor, they came up with Ibrāhīm Husain M. As it was night they were obliged to draw up their forces and halt. Rai Rai Singh held the centre with his followers. Rai Rām held the right wing, and Mirak Khān Kolābī, Muḥammad Husain Shaikh, Farrukh Khān, Naqīb Khān, I'tibār Khān, 'Alī Cūlāq, Muḥammad Husain Jālabān, and Mīr Quṭbu-d-dīn held the left wing. It happened that the tanks in that neighbourhood were in the possession of the enemy. When a watch of the night had passed the men grew thirsty, and a party of the Moghuls rescued one of the tanks. The Mīrzā divided his force into three bands, and made an attack upon the imperialists. They began by engaging the advance-guard of Rai Rām, and they had gained an advantage when Rai Rām came in person and drove them off. Ibrāhīm Husain M. detached a body of his own men and sent them against the Moghul officers. Gallant men advanced from the latter force and engaged in battle. The Mīrzā became aware of the defeat of his own men, attacked in person, and Mirak Khān Kolābī distinguished himself. But the force was nearly wavering when Rai Rai Singh came to its assistance. Ibrāhīm Husain M. could not withstand this onset and turned and fled. Most of the imperialists escaped injury, but Naqīb Khān was wounded by an arrow. He however recovered. The victorious officers had regard to its being night and did not quit the field. That night a great misfortune befel the Mīrzā. His horse fell from the stroke of an arrow and he had to run some way on foot. Then one of his servants came up, and he got upon his horse, and fled with a few men. If the officers had exerted themselves next day, he would have fallen into their hands. But they were satisfied with their victory and all went off to their fiefs. The wretch went on towards Delhi. Raja Bihārī Mal, who was in the capital, sent Khangār² and a body of troops to Delhi, and all the

¹ Also called Kahtolī and Katholī.

² Blochmann, 419, mentions a Khangār who was zamīndār of Great

Kachh, but the Khangār here meant was the nephew of Rajah Bhagwān. See *Elliot* V, 364.

jāgirdārs who were not in this force assembled at Delhi. The inauspicious one (Ibrāhīm) hastened off to Sambal¹ when he heard of 36 the arrival of those troops, and there made some preparations. Husain Khān,² who was in Patialī,³ got together some jāgirdārs and others. Just then the news came of the taking of Surat and of the march of H.M. the Shāhinshāh's army. Ibrāhīm was obliged to go to the Panjab. The Khān Jahān and the other Panjab officials were engaged in taking Nagarkot, and Ibrāhīm thought he would find the place empty and be successful, or else turn to Gujrat by way of Sind. For these reasons he went off from Sambal to the Panjab. Wherever he went he did not fail to exercise oppression and misconduct.

Husain Qulī Khān in accordance with the sacred orders sent a letter of advice to the men who were in the fort of Nagarkot, but they did not hearken to his counsels. The officers marched and besieged the place. When Rajah Jai Cand was going to court he, out of forethought, committed his son Badī Cand, who was of tender age, to the charge of Rajah Gobind Jesawāl.⁴ Meanwhile the Rajah (Jai Cand) returned to the fort and proceeded to defend it. The work of the siege was nearly ended when the news came of Ibrāhīm Husain M.'s attack on the Panjab. When the loyal officers heard of this they held a consultation. Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, M. Yūsuf Khān, Kharram Khān, Fattū and a number of others were of opinion that this affair should be settled by a peace, and that they should hasten from this hill-country to the centre of the province, and take precautionary measures before the rebel should arrive. The Khān Jahān and another party took a narrower⁵ view of the situation. As they had worked hard, and the fort had been nearly reduced to extremities, they were not willing to make peace. The officers said, "The measure

¹ His former fief.

² This is Husain K. Tukriyah. The account of the siege of Nagarkot is more fully given by Niẓāmu-d-dīn and Badāūnī. See *Elliot* V. 356 and *Badāūnī*.

³ In the Etah district.

⁴ This must be the same man who is called Gōpī Cand a little lower down.

⁵ The text has *naẓrrā farākhtar sākhta*, "taking a wider view," but the I.O.MSS. and the sense of the passage show that a negative has been omitted and that the reading should be *nasākhta*. Because the Khān Jahān had worked hard, he could not take a wide view, and perceive that the all-important thing was to anticipate Ibrāhīm.

of the gain or loss from the taking or not taking the fort is a known quantity, but the disturbance caused by this sedition-monger is a very weighty matter." The Khān Jahān said, "I will make peace on this condition, that a proceeding be drawn up, descriptive of the character of the consultation, and that each person put his seal to it, so that if this withdrawal does not please H.M. the officers¹ will escape responsibility." The officers delivered a writing and knocked at the door of peace. The Rajah regarded this as a great deliverance and was pleased. The peace was founded on four conditions: 1st.—The Rajah should send his daughter to the sacred harem. 2nd.—He should pay a suitable tribute. 3rd.—He should send with the officers
37 responsible persons from among his sons and other relatives, so that if the king did not approve of the peace, those men should remain until the delivery of the fort. 4th.—As this province had been given to Rajah Bīrbar as his fief a large sum of money should be assured to him. The Rajah agreed to all four conditions. The Khān Jahān added a fifth condition, *viz.*, that Rajah Gōpī Cand should come and pay his respects, and he said that in order to satisfy the Rajah, some of M. Yūsuf Khān's brothers would come into the fort until the Rajah returned. Or else M. Yūsuf Khān and Kharrām Khān would come and stay in the fort. At last he sent M. Yūsuf Khān's brothers and the Rajah took them with him and came into the camp. He paid his respects to the Khān Jahān and took leave. The victorious army addressed itself to putting down the Mīrzā. No long time had elapsed when the Rajah returned and from spirit of loyalty said, "At this time when you are going against the foe, why should I go back to my house?" So with great joy he joined the army of fortune.

The Mīrzā had come plundering to the borders of Dipālpūr; when he heard the news of the approach of the loyal officers he became astonished and downcast. He abandoned the thought of Lahore and went to Multan. The officers left their baggage and the impedimenta of the camp and went on unencumbered to uproot the rebel. When they came near the town of Talamba,² which belongs to the

¹ By "officers" is here meant, apparently, the Khān Jahān himself or the officers who sided with him. Perhaps the meaning is "each will

bear his own share of the blame."

² It is Palta in text. Add. 26, 207 has Talamba.

province of Multan, it transpired that the Mīrzā had come there on the previous day and was staying there. The officers set themselves to draw up their forces. Husain Qulī Khān, Ism‘aīl Qulī Khān and a number of brave men held the centre. Muḥibb ‘Alī Khān and M. Yūsuf Khān were on the right wing. Khurram Khān, Dost Khān Sahārī and Shāh Ghāzī Khān Tabrīzī were on the left wing. J‘afar Khān, Fattū and other brave men formed the vanguard. They marched in this order. On that day Ibrāhīm Husain M. had gone off with a few men to hunt. When Mas‘aūd Husain M. heard of the approach of the imperial army, he prepared for battle, and sent a man to summon the Mīrzā. The latter hastened back with the foot of ruin, and after having made some arrangement of his troops advanced to the conflict. He engaged the right wing of the imperialists, and also with the vanguard somewhat. By the heavenly favour there blew a breeze of victory. Husain Khān, who had hastened after the Mīrzā from Sambal, behaved valiantly in this battle. Mas‘aūd Husain M. was captured, and many of the vanquished rebels were slain. The officers returned thanks for this great boon and wrote to S‘aīd Khān, the governor of Multan, that they had happily accomplished what lay upon them, and that they were now going to their fiefs; that the abandoned wretch had come to the province with a 38 few men, and that it would be a fitting service to seize him so that his commotion might be altogether quelled.

Ibrāhīm Husain M. went off rapidly and in a miserable plight. When he came to the district of Multan the Bilūcīs headed him and stopped his progress. He wished to come off by fighting. Some who were with him were killed. He himself was wounded and took refuge in the house of a Bilūcī.¹ When S‘aīd Khān heard of this, he set out to search for him, and he found him in the place that he had crept into, and seized him. He reported the circumstances to the court. When his letter was communicated by the courtiers to H.M., he returned thanks to God, first for the repose granted to his subjects, and secondly for the seizure of this injurer of the State, and an order was given that he should be brought to court. But he who had been

¹ Badāūnī describes the Mīrzā as changing his dress, and assuming the character of a calendar. He took

refuge in the house of a dervish, who betrayed him to S‘aīd Khān. Ibrāhīm’s wound was in the throat.

caught by his own devices was already dead, either of his severe wound, or from fear of the Shāhinshāh's majesty, or from excessive shame. Or perhaps the stewards of fate knew the extent of the Shāhinshāh's graciousness, and that if he came to court, the sovereign might pardon him, and on this account dissolved the bond between his perverse spirit and his vile body. On the day of Bahman 2 Khirdād, Divine month, corresponding to 11 Muḥarram 981 (13 May 1573), H.M. arrived at Ajmīr, and that seeker after the Divine favour visited the holy shrine and distributed various favours to the officials and visitors of that city. The special courtiers brought the prince Sulṭān Daniel there, and after one week H.M. proceeded towards the capital.

When the standards of fortune reached Sāngānīr ¹ the Shāhinshāh decided that he and a few should make a rapid march to the capital, and that the camp should proceed slowly stage by stage. In the space of one day and two nights he completed that long journey and arrived at the town of Bacūna,² which is eight *kos* from Fathpūr. Jotik Rai³ represented that after three days there would be an auspicious time for reaching the capital. So the Shāhinshāh remained in that town for three days. Shaikh Selim⁴ and all the great and honourable men came to welcome him.

¹ In Jaipur.

² Or Bajūna, but I have not identified the place.

³ The astrologer.

⁴ The Fathpūr Sīkrī saint after whom Jahāngīr was named.

CHAPTER IX.

ARRIVAL OF H.M. AT THE CAPITAL.

The achievements and success of the great ones of the realm and **39** religion and of the spiritual and material rulers are bound up with a right intention and a proper behaviour, the chief point of which is the seeking after the well-pleasing of God. The differences in the grades of mankind are connected with these two great characteristics. Whoever possesses these two qualities in a higher degree, becomes more and more prosperous, and his sacred personality becomes a source of great deeds. God be praised! Those two great qualities, which are the stock of realm and religion, exist in the sacred elements of the Shāhīnshāh in a quantity and quality which exceed imagination, and which few of the great men of old times have attained to. Why then speak of leaders of the present time? Hence it is that he is perpetually successful in a special manner. His success in realm and religion makes him submissive to the incomparable Deity and gracious the humble. Just as his fortune increases, so his graciousness becomes greater. At this glorious time when such a vast country had been conquered in a short time, he with a thousand supplications to God arrived at Fathpūr the capital on the day of Dībādīn 23 Khirdād, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 2 Şafar (3 June 1573). All the grades of mankind were exalted by doing homage, and their eyes and hearts were gratified by beholding him. Shaikh Mubārak the honoured father of this distracted one of the society of being (A. F.), who spent his days in retirement and devotion, and had a wonderful association with the lord of the world, and who, though in appearance he was little acquainted with H.M., yet always kept his heart full of light by his loyalty to that unique one of the age, and held high rank with him for purity and devotion, came to welcome him and to offer his congratulations. He represented that though the general public were presenting their felicitations to the lord of the world, yet what was now being shed upon his faithful heart from the unseen world was as follows: "Let that lord¹ of the universe of blessing

¹ *Khudāwand-i-a'alm-mubārakbādī*. I believe that this expression means

announce to the loyal and sincere that God, the Bestower of the World, hath on account of the abundance of our¹ right thoughts and right actions bestowed upon us² such a great boon and sublime blessing (*viz.*, the holy personality of H.M.), in order that by his wide capacity and good administration of the outer world he may become the Primate (*Peshwā*) of the spiritual kingdom, and it is for this purpose that such glorious victories have been unveiled." The great appreciator was much pleased by this wondrous congratulation, and dismissed that holy eremite with reverence. He often called the weighty announcement to mind and referred to it with his holy lips.

40 Also during this happy time the great officers came to court from the provinces, and attained their desires. Among them was Husain Qulī Khān, the governor of Lahore, who came with many officers of that province to do homage. He brought Mas'aūd Husain M. and all the prisoners, who had fallen into his hands in the battle, wrapped up in cowhides² from which the horns had not been removed; and thereby excited great joy at court. The merciful Khedive pardoned their wickedness and immediately ordered that they should be set free from such a dress. For correction and from kindness he ordered that each of them should be made over to some place so that the real character of each might be ascertained.³

A. F.'s father Mubārak. Mubārak-bādī is a sort of pun on his name. The message to him from the spiritual world was that he should announce to the faithful that Akbar had been so exalted by external victories in order that he might become their spiritual king also.

¹ The word *mā* is omitted by B.M. add. 27, 247 and 26, 207. I.O. MS. 236 has *bamā* "to us," which is probably right. Evidently this announcement of Mubārak's was a prelude to the famous decree, given in B. 186, which he drew up, whereby Akbar was declared to be higher than a *Mujtahid* and to have the power of deciding religious questions. It will

be remembered that when Mubārak drew up this document in 987, *i.e.*, six years after this announcement, he added the statement, B. 187, that he had for several years been looking forward to such a consummation.

² Perhaps the hides were those of the 200 cows whom Niẓāmu-d-dīn mentions as having been slaughtered at a temple outside Nagarkot.

³ The account in the T. A. of these events is fuller than that in the Akbarnāma. Niẓāmu-d-dīn says that Mas'aūd's eyes had been sewn up, but that Akbar caused these to be opened. He also released many of the prisoners, and made over others to jailors.

Also at this time Kūār Mān Singh and other officers came by 40 way of Idar and were exalted by doing homage. The short account of this victorious army is that when it came to the borders of Dūngarpūr, the zamindar thereof behaved presumptuously and prepared for war. The brave troops punished that seditious one and killed a great number, and plundered his country. Darveshak, one of the officers of the victorious army, was killed. From there the army went, in accordance with the orders of the King who protects the obedient and punishes the criminal, to Udaipūr which is the native country of the Rānā. The Rānā came out to welcome them, and received him with respect and put on the royal *khil'at*. He brought Mān Singh to his house as his guest, but owing to his evil nature he proceeded to make excuses ¹ (about going to court), alleging that "his well-wishers would not suffer him to go." He made promises about going to the sublime court, but raised objections, and gave Mān Singh leave to depart, while he himself stayed and procrastinated. Also at this time Husain Qulī Khān was exalted by the title of Khān Jahān. Each of the officers who had done good service was rewarded with glorious favours. The throne-occupier sate on the *masnad* of appreciation and distributed rewards. He adorned the Sultanate with justice, and made justice glorious by grace and gifts. He adorned the heavens by praise, the earth by civilization, the age by tranquillity, the palace by decoration, and man by exaltation, and exerted himself to elevate every one in his degree. He shed light by suitable regulations, and joined spiritual to material sway!

One of the dominion-increasing events of this time was that the Shāhinshāh addressed himself to the conquest of Bihar and Bengal, because the peasantry were suffering from the dominion of the evil Afghans. The Khān 'Aālm, Ashraf Khān, M'uīnu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, Qāsim 'Alī Khān, Mīrzā 'Alī, and a number of other officers were sent off to the eastern provinces. An order was issued to Mun'im Khān Khān Khānān to the effect that "when the sublime standards

¹ See *Elliot* VI. 42. He seems to have read *ghadr*, treachery, but the MSS. have 'uzr, and this seems correct. Mān Singh had been told to bring the Rānā to court, but the lat-

ter was shy of coming there, and put off the visit. Erskine in his translation B.M. Add. 26, 621 read the word as 'uzr, and so did the author of the *Iqbāl-nāma*.

were engaged in purifying and sanctifying the country of Gujarat, the faithful servant (Mun'im) had recognised the circumstances of
41 the time, and chosen the path of discretion and delay. Now when by our dominion and fortune our throne has been made illustrious by our justice, it is right that on receiving this missive you proceed to conquer that country and to chasten the erring and seditious." Though the loyal officers who held fiefs in those parts were, by the favour of God, sufficient, yet as the more they were, the easier the task would be, many others were appointed, and from excellent foresight Rajah Todar Mal was sent to Mun'im Khān in order that he might impress upon him many of the rules of conquest which had been imparted to him (by Akbar). He was also to inquire into the capabilities and harmony of the officers and to report thereon to H.M. For if they had the energy for world-conquest, there was hope that the country would soon come into the possession of the imperial servants. Otherwise it would be necessary for H.M. to proceed there in person. The Rajah went there quickly and returned and reported that there was abundance of troops and that the officers were of one accord, and had sincere intentions and lofty aspirations. Accordingly the mind of H.M. was set at rest.

CHAPTER X.

THE EXPEDITION OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH FOR THE SECOND TIME TO
GUJARAT, AND HIS RETURN WITH VICTORY.

Though in the eyes of the superficial many things are the cause of joy to the envious and those of narrow capacity, yet in fact, they are the beginnings of increased dominion and the vanguard of brilliant fortune. They are at once the key of hope and peace, and the bolt upon sedition, and both the material of increased loyalty, and the leaven of destruction for the hypocritical. Of this nature was the commotion which now arose in Gujarat, to quell which the world's Khedive went there in person. The brief account of this instructive occurrence is that when H.M. the Shāhinshāh dismissed the Khān A'azam M. Koka and went on to the capital, the latter, as he knew that Ikhtiyār-il-mulk had raised the head of sedition in Īdar in conjunction with Rai Narain, the zamindar thereof, and that the sons of Sher Khān Fūlādī had joined him, in order not to delay the affairs of the State, went off straight to that province without going to Aḥmadābād. Mīrzā Muqīm,¹ who had a fief there, left it on account of the predominance of those evil conspirators, and joined himself to him.

The Khān A'azam was in the act of extirpating that crew when 42 the dust of Muḥammad Husain ² M.'s strife rose up again. The brief account of this is that Muḥammad Husain M. heard in the territory of Daulatābād in the Deccan of H.M.'s proceeding to the capital, and came to Surat and stirred up commotion. Qulīj Khān shut himself up and attended to the defence of the fort. The Mīrzā left that place and came to Broach which he took owing to the unfaithfulness of Quṭbu-d-dīn's servants. From there he went to Cambay and also got possession of that place without a battle owing to the carelessness of Hasan ³ Khān (Khazāncī) who came away to Aḥmadabad. The Khān

¹ Perhaps the Muqīm Naqshbandī of Blochmann 433.

² Blochmann 463.

³ Nizāmu-d-dīn has Hasan Khān Kurkarāq and says he was the shiq-dār. Elliot V. 360 has Karkarāh by

A'azam sent Saiyid Hāmīd, Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn, Shaikh Muḥammad of Monghyr and a number of others to assist Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān. Just then Ikhtiyār-al-mulk and the body of men who were in the defiles of the hill-country acquired strength¹ and came forward. The Khān A'azam took protection in a strong place and stayed there. The rebels could not venture to attack him. They considered, "How long will he stay there? What advantage will he reap from it? Our course is to attack Aḥmadabad. If the Khān A'azam come out of that stronghold we shall fight him and perhaps we shall succeed. If he does not come out we shall get possession of Aḥmadabad." With this evil intention they marched out. At the end of the day the Khān A'azam, when he heard of the march of the enemy, proceeded rapidly towards Aḥmadabad. As the day was near its close the enemy could not oppose him, and Khān A'azam without halting during the night entered the city at dawn. On the same night Muḥammad Husain M. passed close by after his defeat at Cambay and some baggage was captured by him. As he was in a miserable plight, he passed along at a distance from the Khān A'azam's army, and joined Ikhtiyār al-mulk and the sons of Sher Khān Fūlādī. The account of this mysterious boon is that Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān, Saiyid Hāmīd Bokhāri, Naurang Khān and a number of the servants of the Khān A'azam came to Cambay. That wretch, though he had few men, exceeded his powers of resistance, but was utterly defeated. Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn displayed great bravery and offered up his life. The officers regarded his defeat as a great boon and did not address themselves to pursuing him. If they had exerted themselves a little, the scoundrel would have been caught.

In fine, when he had joined that inauspicious crew, he was very earnest that they should hasten to Aḥmadabad. The Gujratis made long speeches and debated the matter for three days. This was owing to the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh, and the Khān A'azam employed this respite in strengthening the ways of ingress and egress.

mistake for Karkarāq. The word is Turkish and means wardrobe or keeper of wardrobe. See B. 87 n, 2 and 616. *Kurk* means fur, and the word is properly *Kurkīarāq*.

¹ I adopt the reading of Add. 26, 207 which has *bālīsh yāfta*. The text has *istamālat yāfta* and there is the variant *mālīsh yāfta*.

The Cambay officers also arrived, and after some more days those ill-fated and presumptuous men arrived in the neighbourhood of Ahmadabad. Though the army was such that if they had given battle, the imperial servants would have been victorious, yet as the Khān A'azam had not confidence in his own men or in those of Qutbu-d-dīn **43** Khān, he did not engage. At the time of bidding him adieu the far-sighted Khedive had advised him that if by heaven's decree the seditious should gather together, and there should be a hot disturbance, he should be very cautious about giving battle. He observed this fortune-increasing advice. One day Fāzil Khān (son of the Khān Kilān) came out near the Khānpūr gate, and sought for a combatant, when a body of the enemy fell upon him, and as soon as they attacked his men, they fled, and Fāzil Khān was severely wounded. When he came inside of the city he expired. Sultān Khwāja¹ got separated from his horse and fell into the ditch. They fastened a basket and pulled him by a rope. But as by heaven's arrangement they were all agreed that they could not with their troops give battle, the Khān A'azam sent a report to the Sublime Threshold along with Sultān Khwāja, in which he described the state of affairs and asked for assistance, moral and physical, from the Shāhinshāh. When the Khwāja arrived at court and the facts of the rising of the dust of commotion were shown to H.M., inasmuch as that mine of manliness and ocean of kindness was exceedingly fond of M. Koka, his world-conquering genius determined that he would make an expedition in person and go post towards that country. As from shortness of time there was not an opportunity for the men's making arrangements for this great enterprise, he opened the door of the treasury and poured abundant money into the laps of his servants in presents and in assistance. And the sacred harem was set off along with many of the faithful officers, such as Shujā'at Khān, Raja Bhagwant Dās, Saiyid Maḥmūd Bārha, and Rai Rām Singh. He also exclaimed with his holy tongue, "Though in observance of appearances I am arranging for the despatch of men, yet it has flashed on my interior that no one will arrive before me." The Khān-jahān and S'aīd Khān and many of the Panjab officers were dismissed in order that they might arrange for the defence of that province. But he took from among them as his own

¹ Blochmann 423. He was son of Khwāja Khāwand Dost.

companions M. Yūsuf ¹ Khān and Makhṣūṣ ² Khān, and an order was issued that Mozaffar Khān should take the Malwa officers, and proceed rapidly to Gujrat, and that Kuar Mānsingh should collect the fief-holders of Kachhīwārah, and hasten to come (to Akbar). Rajah Bihārī Mal, Rajah Todar Mal, Shaikh Ibrāhīm, Ḥakīm-al-mulk, Shaikh Aḥmad and many of the loyal were left in charge of the princes and of the capital.

- 44 When his holy mind was at rest about the arrangements, he on the day of Ābān 10 Shahrīyūr, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 24 Rabi'-al-ākḥīr, 23 August 1573, mounted on a swift and softly-going she-camel.³

Verse.

“ A camel ⁴ swifter than an arrow ”

and taking the reins of victory in his hand, and with the help of the strong cable of reliance upon God, proceeded on the long journey to Gujrat. The loyal officers, and his special intimates accompanied him—some on swift she-camels, and some on fiery-hoofed horses. When a watch of the night had passed, he for the relief of the loyal halted in the town of Toda.⁵ In the morning he again started under the guidance of an auspicious star, and early in the morning of Monday reached the stage of Hans Maḥal, and there halted for a while. From there he hastened on still faster, and after a watch of the night had passed he reached M'uzzābād.⁶ On that day many of the followers had not the strength of body to keep up with him. He also felt some heaviness in his limbs, but in spite of that, after midnight he got upon a chariot and proceeded on rapidly.

¹ Blochmann 346.

² Blochmann 388.

³ *Jamāza*. According to A. F. Akbar's name for a female camel, but the word is Arabic. See Blochmann 143.

⁴ *Kamāngardanī* a camel, but literally a bow-necked one. The hemistich puns on the double meaning.

⁵ Toda Bhīm, 70 m. W. by S. Agra (Elliot V. 362n.) and consequently under 50 from Fathpūr Sikrī. It is in Jaipūr. It was Badayūni's birth-place. See J. II. 181 and 183.

⁶ Marked Mozabad in map to Bayley's Gujrat, 30 m. S-W. Jaipūr (Elliot). Nizāmu-d-dīn calls the place Mozābād, or Morābād.

Verse.

The chariot goes swift as a cloud,
 Like as Patience departs from lovers,
 From the rapid going outside and inside
 The echo reaches the southern ¹ sky (?)

An order was given that if from being overpowered by sleep he should order them to drive slowly they were to regard such an order as unheard and go on as fast as before. The servants obeyed this order and drove on. At last at breakfast time on Tuesday they reached the bounteous spot of Ajmīr.² H.M. visited the glorious shrine and paid reverence to his God. He sought aid from the holy spirit of the Khwāja and distributed gifts to the attendants on the shrine. Thereafter he alighted at the palace which he had erected in that city and took repose there. At the close of that day he mounted on horseback ³ and went on rapidly, and on the morning of Wednesday he was joined ⁴ in the district of Mirtha⁵ by Shāh Qulī Khān Muḥram, Saiyid Maḥmud Khān Bārha, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqbāī, who belonged to the advance-army but had halted. He halted for a while and then moved on. A watch of the day had passed when the town of Jītāran was illuminated by the Shāhinshāh's advent, and a watch of the day remained when he again went on. At the end of the day his joyous spirit was inclined to hunt. Just then a black buck showed itself, and H.M. said, "If a swift *cīta* catch this deer it will be 45

¹ *Burang-i-gardūn*. Burang means the part of the sky where the S. polestar is visible. But perhaps *burang* here means rust, or darkness, and the meaning is that the colour of the sky was changed, or that the wheels were covered with dust. *Rang* has also the meaning of a bell, and the phrase may mean the bell, i.e., the vault of the sky.

² Ajmir is 228 miles west of Agra or about 200 from Fathpūr whence Akbar started. The T.A. says he left at breakfast time.

³ Elliot makes Nizāmu-d-dīn say that the night of Akbar's departure from Ajmir was bright moonlight, but this could not be the case near the end of the lunar month, and what Nizāmu-d-dīn says is that Akbar travelled all night, *like the moon, qamrwār*.

⁴ The meaning is that he joined them there. The advance-army was still in front, but these men had halted. See Elliot V. 36.

⁵ Merta of I. G., in Jodhpūr.

a sign that Muḥammad Ḥusain M. will come into our hands.” With this idea he loosed the *cīta*, and the deer was caught, and the prey of joy came into the net. At midnight Sojat (in Jodhpūr) was reached, and he rested till the dawn of Thursday. When it became light he got upon the saddle, and at the time of mounting it was told him that the holy harem and the advance-army were in the town of Pālī (Jodhpūr). He ordered that his attendants should pursue their journey while he with a few of his special intimates proceeded to Pālī. When he had gone a little way he learned that the report was false. He turned back from there and resumed his proper course. At the end of the day when the attendants had halted in the vicinity of the town of Bhagwānpūr, and were much distressed at being excluded from service and the delay in the arrival of the loyal standards, the Khe-dive of the world appeared and shed his light upon them. They were all cheered and there were general rejoicings. H.M. wished to go on to Gujrat by way of Sirohī, as that was somewhat the shorter route, but his well-wishers begged that he would go by Jālaur. Their motive was that there were many evil characters on the former and that H.M. had few men with him. Perhaps their commotion might hinder his advance. H.M. did not accept this advice, as his foot was firmly fixed in reliance upon God, and his heart linked to secret favours. The scout Shugūna was ordered to conduct the cortège by the route of Sirohī. The well-meaning ones when they saw that the following of their suggestion was hopeless, intrigued with Shugūna and arranged that he should give out the road as leading to Sirohī, but should really go to Jālaur. With this intent they set out in the beginning of the night. The guide made a mistake and they came into a forest full of mud. The loyalists were somewhat distressed and many of the retinue got separated. Apparently this was a punishment for their opposition. At the end of the night they came to a village, and learnt that it was one of the dependencies of Jālaur, and that they were on their way to Jālaur. H.M. grew angry and halted there for a time. In the morning of Friday he pushed on. A tiger appeared on the left hand, and Saif Khān Kokā and Mīrzāda ‘Alī Khān prepared to hunt it. H.M. said, “Friends, swear by the dust of the holy feet that you will not go after this, seeing that we have another object in view. It is no gain to our work that we should knowingly and intentionally undertake

such an affair as this. Perchance some injury might ensue. More- 46
 over the experienced men of India have settled that it is a good
 omen if a tiger or such-like appear on the left, and they do not
 kill it." By these kind words he restrained those tiger-hearts from
 tiger-hunting and went on. When they had gone on a little way,
 they learned that the army of fortune which had been previously
 despatched had gone by this road. Shāhbāz Khān was ordered to
 bring on the retinue slowly, while H.M. went ahead with a few fol-
 lowers.

When the standards of fortune reached the district of Jālaur
 there arose a sound of drums, and it appeared that this came from
 the advance-army. Two watches of the day had passed when they
 reached Jālaur. The great officers were exalted by making the pros-
 tration. An order was given that the commanders of the camp
 should take each one of H.M.'s companions to their quarters and
 show them hospitality. He himself entered for a while the *harem*.
 Then he came out and gave an opportunity for *kornish* (salutation).
 He ordered the horse-dealers who had come with the camp to be pro-
 duced with their stables. They received suitable prices, and swift-
 coursers were distributed to many persons. An order was given that
 Shāhbāz Khān and Kamāl Khān of Jālaur should accompany the camp
 and that the other officers should proceed along with H.M. When
 half of the night had passed, he mounted a swift horse and went on
 rapidly till midday on Saturday. After that he halted in Pattanwāl.¹
 He saw the moon² of Jamāda-al-awwal in that pleasant spot and
 enjoyed himself for a while and then went on. And so rapidly did
 he proceed that till the end of Sunday he did not repose (*lit.*, saw
 repose in un repose). On the eve of Monday he reached the town of
 Dīsa which is twenty *kos* from Pattan. Shāh 'Alī Langā,³ who gov-
 erned there on the behalf of the Khān Kilān, from misunderstanding
 thought it was a foreign army and shut the fort-gate. When he
 learned the truth, he became fortunate by doing homage. The
 opinion of all the officers was that H.M. should hasten to Pattan, and

¹ Not identified.

² *Māh-i-jumāda-al-awwalī*. The 1st
 day of the month is meant. It was
 29 August, 1573.

³ This was a son of the Bakhshū
 Langā who helped Humāyūn in
 flight from Sher Shāh.

stay there one day so that the brave men who had fallen behind might come up. H.M.'s opinion was that there was no necessity to go to Pattan, or even to inform the Khān Kilān and others who were **47** there. Possibly they might on account of the length of their service put obstacles in the way of the rapid movement of the imperial retinue, and the report of its arrival might reach the enemy, and he might in consequence retire. Many encouraging words fell from his lips. By the efforts and importunities of the intimate courtiers it was determined that H.M. should leave Pattan on one side and go on towards Gujrat, (*i.e.*, apparently Aḥmadabad the capital), while one of the swift goers should go and bring the Pattan army. Khwāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Āṣaf Khān was sent off for this purpose. The world's lord went on with the army of fortune at midnight. At breakfast time on Monday he reached the territory of Bālīsāna¹ which is five *kos* from Pattan. Just then the Khān Kilān with his army and Wazīr Khān, Shāh Fakḥru-d-dīn, Taiyib Khān, Khangār² and other officers were exalted by doing homage. They had been appointed out of foresight before the commotion had occurred, and as the road was dangerous they had out of precaution halted in Pattan.

At this stage the conquering troops were arranged in order. Mīrzā Khān, Shujā'at Khān, Saiyid Maḥmūd Khān Bārha, Ṣādiq Khān, and a number of heroes were in the centre, which is the station of the special *qūr*,³ the right wing was held by the Khān Kilān and other brave men; Wazīr Khān and a number of courageous men of note were appointed to the left wing; Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqbāī, Tarkḥān Dīwāna, and others were in the vanguard. The far-seeing mind of the Shāhinshāh arranged that he himself and a band of devoted loyalists should form the reserve. There were

¹ The text has Māliyāna, but the variant Bālīsāna is supported by Niẓāmu-d-dīn. There is a Bālīsāna mentioned in the I. G. as in the Kaḍī subdivision of Baroda. The Bom. G. speaks of a Balāsinor. I think, however, that the proper reading is Māisāna, the Mesāna of I. G. which is 43 miles N. Ahmadābād. It is, how-

ever, more than 5 *kos* from Pattan. Blochmann 486 says it is 18 *kos* S.E. Pattan. Erskine and also some MSS. have Palitāna, but if this is correct it cannot be the well-known Palitāna.

² Rajah Bhagwān Dās' nephew.

³ Blochmann 110 n.

about one hundred horsemen in attendance on him, each of whom was a match for thousands.

Verse.

The lance of each was a flame which melted cuirasses
 The sword of each a borer which pierced rocks
 At once the bow of Rustum, and the arrow of Ārash¹
 All were deer for swiftness, and tiger-hunters
 All were perfect in their services
 All were alert in their obediences.

At the end of Monday H.M. set out from the town of Bālīsāna (qu. Mesāna?). Shugūna, who was the special scout, was ordered to go quickly to Aḥmadabad, to inform the garrison of the coming of the victorious troops, and to bid them prepare for battle. When the troops came near, the Aḥmadabad army was to come out and join them.

H.M. rode on all night, and when part of the day had elapsed he arrived at the village of Cotāna which is a dependency of Karī.² There it was learnt that a number of the enemy under the command of Rāoliyā,³ a servant of Sher Khān Fūlādī, had strengthened the fort,⁴ and were prepared for battle. Apparently the wretches **48** thought that the Khān Kilān had sent a body of troops from Pattan against Karī. They therefore came out and drew up in battle array. At the same moment H.M. gave the order to a body of troops belonging to the victorious army to advance and rouse those insolent wretches from their neglectful sleep. In a moment they killed a large number of them, and the others fled inside the fort. They were preparing to take the fort when the standards of fortune arrived and halted in the city-bazaar. H.M. summoned the experienced officers and asked what was the proper thing now that the enemy had entered the fort. A party who were overcome by rashness, and were

¹ Ārash was a famous archer in the service of Minūcihr. See Burhān Qātī s. v.

² Or Kaḍī.

³ Elliot calls him Rolīyā. Add. 26, 207 has *aulīyā mulāzim*, i.e., servants, and 27, 247 has *maḡaribān mulāzim*. Erskine has Rao Liai.

The I. O. MS. vary between *Rāo Liya* and *auliya*.

⁴ The text has *qila gīrī*, 'the defending of the fort.' But Add. 26, 207 has *qil'ā karī*, 'the fort of Karī,' and this is also how Erskine read the passage. Add. 26, 621, and is probably correct.

inconsiderate represented that the proper thing to do was to advance after having taken the fort. That unique pearl of wisdom and experience said that there would be no advantage in taking this petty fort, and that all their efforts should be devoted to getting hold of the rebels of Gujrat. If they paid attention to the taking of this fort, the task might be drawn out to some days. In this event the enemy would hear of the arrival of H.M. and withdraw themselves, and it was clear that the fort would be taken without difficulty by the imperial troops which were approaching. Just then a bullet struck one of the soldiers who was standing near H.M., and the man lost his courage and displayed cowardice. When the matter was inquired into it was found that the bullet had passed through his clothes and been spent (*sard shuda būd*). It was the neighbourhood of the holy personality that made it innocuous.

Verse.

On the fateful day the spear rends the coat of mail
But does not pierce the tunic of the doomed.

At last they all agreed to what H.M. had said. They left the fort and went on. When they had gone two *kos* H.M. ordered a halt in order to refresh the troops. Next night M. Yūsuf Khān, Qāsim Khān and a number of the officers who were coming up in the rear, arrived with torches. The garrison of the fort believed them to be the special army of H.M. and came out of the fort and went off without a battle. So the idea of H.M. was confirmed. At dawn on Wednesday the army marched on in the order that had been arranged.

When H.M. arrived within three *kos* of Aḥmadabad, Āṣaf Khān was sent off quickly to that metropolis to tell that by the Divine aid the shadow of justice was being cast upon the inhabitants, and that it was fitting that the officers should with thankful hearts and loyal
49 service join the august retinue. The names of the officers who in this rapid march accompanied H.M. are as follows:—

List.

1. M. Khān, heir of Bairām Khān.
2. Saif Khān Koka.

3. Zain Khān Koka.
4. Husain Khawāja 'Abdullah Khān.
5. Jagannāth.
6. Rai Sāl.
7. Jaimal.
8. Jagmal Patwār.
9. Khawāja Ghīāsu-d-dīn 'Alī Āsaf Khān.
10. Rajah Bīr Bar.
11. Rajah Dīp Cānd.
12. Mīr Ghīāsu-d-dīn 'Alī Naqīb Khān.
13. Muḥammad¹ Zamān.
14. Bahādur Khān.
15. Mān Singh Darbārī.
16. Saiyid Khawāja.
17. Shāikh Abdu-r-raḥīm.
18. Rām Dās Kachwāha.
19. Rām Cānd.
20. Bāhādur Khān qūrdār.
21. Sānwal Dās.
22. Jādūn Kaith Darbārī.
23. Sarkh Badakhshī.
24. Dawār Bahāla.
25. Har Dās.
26. Tāra Cānd Khawāṣ.
27. La'l Kalānwat.²

When the standards of fortune came near the enemy H.M. turned his attention towards putting on and bestowing cuirasses. One of the instructive occurrences was that Jaimal, the son of Rūpsī, came into the Presence wearing a heavy cuirass (*bagtar*). That gracious one felt for

¹ Brother of Muḥammad Yūsuf, Blochmann 533.

² Erskine in his MS. translation justly remarks on the number of Hindus in this list. No. 25 Har Dās appears in some MSS. as Patr Das, Blochmann 469. No. 27 is also called Miyān La'l, Blochmann 612 and n. 4. He was a musician, and

perhaps some of the other Hindus mentioned were civilians. Sānwal or Sanwlah is perhaps the painter of that name. See B. 108. In the Victoria and Albert Museum, S. Kensington, there is in the Clarke MS. a picture of the battle of Sarnāl by him. Tāra Cānd may also be the painter mentioned in B. 108.

him and ordered that a cuirass should be given him from his private store, and presented his cuirass to Karn, the grandson of Māldeo, who was without one. When Jaimal showed himself to Rūpsi the latter asked him about the cuirass,—as he had confidence in it,—and when he learned what had happened, he, out of the enmity which he had with the Māldeo family, and on account of the goodness of the cuirass, and from his want of spirit, sent a person to demand the cuirass. The messenger from his want of sense forgot discretion and delivered the message. The lord of horizons from his width of capacity did not regard his shameful conduct and said, “We gave in exchange for it one of our own special cuirasses. Your remark is not courteous.” Rūpsī in his folly took off his cuirass and made his body bare. That mountain of calmness and moderation who might have ordered the chastisement of that infatuated one, understood what to do and took off his own armour (saying), “Since our servants have resolved on going into this battle which will test men’s mettle, without armour, it would not agree with valour that we should go armed.” When Rajah Bhagwān Dās heard of Rūpsī’s¹ misconduct, he gave him salutary advice and poured vinegar into the cup of his intoxicated head. He bitterly reproached him and brought him to repentance and apologies. He flung forward the head of shame and hastened to the Presence. Rajah Bhagwān represented that Rūpsī had been eating
50 *bang* (bhāṅg) and begged for mercy. The gracious Khedive accepted his petition and overlooked the fault. From there he moved forward in proper order. On this march he mounted the horse Nūr Baiṣā (white light), Rajah Bhagwān Dās congratulated him on the victory of Gujrat and said, “Three signs of success have appeared, each one of which is in the opinion of the experienced men of India an omen of victory. *First*.—At such time as this² you have mounted your

¹ Rūpsī was Bhagwān’s paternal uncle. Blochmann 427.

² Apparently the moment of mounting was an auspicious one. It will be observed that Akbar did not at once mount. He mounted on the way, presumably because the moment was auspicious. Add. 27, 247 has *boṣ baiṣā*, a roan horse (?). Erskine trans-

lates the account of the first omen as “the general riding on such a horse,” and it is more natural to suppose that Bhagwān was referring to something special about the horse, especially as A. F. has just given the name of the animal. But two B.M. MSS. and the text have *auqāt* times. It looks as if Erskine had read *auṣāf*

horse. *Second.*—A favourable wind is blowing from behind the victorious army. *Third.*—A great number of crows and kites are keeping us company.” His representation was approved of, and many of those present had their hearts rejoiced.

qualities, and some such reading is preferable to *auqāt*. If Bhagwān was referring to the time of mounting the horse one does not see why

the plural *auqāt* was used instead of the singular *wagt*. However, the I.O. MSS. have *auqāt*.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE SHAHINSHĀH AT AHMADĀBĀD, THE UPLIFTING OF
THE BANNERS OF CONQUEST, AND THE VICTORY OVER
MUHAMMAD HUSAIN M.

Though ¹ the final issue of actions and the solution of difficulties throw flashes of light on the mysterious purposes of God, yet the acute and active-minded—who by the blessing of God and the efforts of their own genius have struck out a way into the hidden chamber of destiny, and who have thus attained to some acquaintance with the secrets of Existence—are well aware that the success of religious and temporal ends and the unveiling of the virgins of desires, spiritual or physical, depend upon right intention, just thinking and suitable action. Especially is this so with regard to the designs of high-born rulers. Fortune raises many walls of hindrance in front of their purposes, but whenever the auspicious and felicitous look upon the multiplicity of their affairs as material for increasing their prudence and appreciate the lofty dignity of Kingship, and understand the various grades of humanity and make use of them and so become adorners of the world; and when they regard the beautifying of external conditions as the ordering of the spiritual world, and do not, like the superficial, consider secular work as opposed to and exclusive of the spiritual world, but recognise that the well-ordering of outward matters is the choicest form of worshipping the Creator of the world, assuredly will the Managers of the eternal world grant in the most complete manner the accomplishment of whatever they shall undertake. Glorious deeds, such as human strength is insufficient for, and which the world's comprehension cannot grasp, will be effected in the briefest space of time. Nay, even things which such princes have not wished for, and which have not found the way to their illustrious

¹ Nearly the whole of this exordium is omitted in the Lucknow edition. Chapter XI begins there at p. 51, l. 3, of the Bib. Ind. edition. The mean-

ing of the first sentence seems to be that though things are generally ruled by destiny, yet much depends upon forethought and wisdom.

minds, will be clothed by the Originators of the world of production in the most splendid robes of being! At the present day these lofty qualities, the stuff of vast success, exist in the holy personality of the Shahinshāh to a degree which needs not the encomia of adorners of sentences, and which is greater than human reason can conceive. Hence it is that the increase in the God-given dominion of this sublime lord, and the accomplishment (*lit.*, the face-showing) of the designs of him whom God hath magnified are beyond the petty scope of human intellect. Though I know that the ill-conditioned and short-sighted regard these prolegomena of praise as the panegyrics of conventional encomiasts, yet, as in this book of fortune I have the noble and hard-to-be-attained title of a pure heart, the evil glance of those purblind eyes makes no stain on the temple-verge of my soul. He who is far-seeing and a friend of inquiry and a foe of hypocrisy will perceive, if he properly consider the record of the Shahinshāh, achievements which is inscribed on the rolls of the Age, that what this spectator of the congeries of existence is writing down is a drop from the ocean and a mote from the desert! Especially is this so in regard to this marvellous campaign which is fitted to embellish the masterpieces of great princes!

To make a long story short, the world's lord being possessed of a right intention, an upright mind, supreme confidence in God, and a lofty courage, and also because by giving even a slight attention to the matter, 300 or 400 first-rate troopers could be collected in a short space of time, accomplished in nine¹ days such a long journey—which caravans take two or three months to effect—accompanied by a few followers, and having encountered more than 20,000 rebels, he gained a victory over them on the day of Bahrām 20 Shahriyūr, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 5 Jamāda-al-awwal (2 September, 1573). The account of this wondrous affair briefly is that when the royal standards came near the enemy, and there was no sign of the army of Gujrat, some of those who had the right of audience sug-

¹ Akbar's feat, considered merely as one of rapid travelling, was not equal to Colonel Townley's ride from Belgrade to Constantinople when he traversed 820 miles in 5 days, 11 hours, "having the whole time to

contend with the wind, rain and mud, and having into the bargain two bad falls." Grant Duff's Notes from a Diary, for 1889, p. 8. But, of course, Akbar had to bring his troops along with him.

gested that a ~~night-attack~~ should be made. H.M. did not approve of this suggestion as it savoured of deception.

Verse.

A night-attack is the trade of cowards
It is disdained by heroes.

He relied upon the Divine aid and proceeded to battle. Orders were given for sounding the kettle-drums and for blowing the trumpets.

Verse.

A noise came from the flute of war
The drums made a noise in the world.

The rebels had been confident in their numbers and had pressed on the siege. They were expecting the coming of Sher Khān Fūlādī. When the sublime cavalcade came near the Sābarmatī the order was given that the troops should be drawn up in order and should cross the river. The officers were expecting the army of Gujrat and hesitated to advance. At this time about three hundred horse, who had come from Sarkēc, showed themselves, and H.M. ordered the special musketeers such as Sālbāhan, Qādir 'Alī, Ranjīt and others of the seldom-missing splitters of hairs to fire at them. The latter fled to
52 their entrenchments. The noise of trumpets and drums resounded. Some of the enemy thought it was Sher Khān Fūlādī who was coming, while others were certain that it was Khān Kalān coming from Pattan to help the Khān A'azim. Muḥammad Ḥusain M. was astonished at the uproar and went out in person to get intelligence. Subhān Qulī Turk and some of the loyal heroes had come a little in advance of the troops to the riverbank and were inquiring into the position of the enemy. The Mīrzā raised his voice and asked who the troops were. Subhān Qulī Turk, with the idea of inspiring dread into the enemy and of causing division among them, replied, "O ignorant one, behold H.M. the Shāhīnshāh in person with a large army, why do you stand still, and why do you ask, be quick and lead away this doomed force." Though the Mīrzā's heart was moved by the royal majesty, which is a ray of Divine glory, yet as the garment of his fate had been woven in black, he rejoined, "O brother, are you frightening me, and are you speaking from your own know-

ledge? If the fact be really so, show me a sign of the royal elephants, and of the great army. What speech is this that you have uttered? The truth is that our couriers left the king in Fathpūr fourteen days ago." Subhān Qulī replied, "The king has made this long march in nine days and has arrived with his devoted followers." When the ill-fated one heard this and became convinced of its truth he hastened to his own camp, and proceeded to arrange forces. When H.M. learnt that the enemy was ignorant of his arrival, he, in his abundant manliness and generosity in war, halted for some time until the swift scouts announced that the enemy were putting on their cuirasses and drawing up in line. Thereupon the order was given for crossing the river. Though the energetic exerted themselves to bring up the Khān Kalān they were not successful and represented that the enemy were numerous, and that it was advisable to remain on this side of the river till the army of Gujrat arrived. H.M. said, "In all enterprises and especially in this expedition all my reliance is on the Divine aid. If I had looked to ordinary means I ought not to have come this long journey so unattended. Now that the enemy are stationary and preparing for battle, what propriety is there in standing still in expectancy." As superficiality and the consideration of ways and means influenced those heroes, they delayed the crossing of the river and restrained the Shāhinshāh by stratagem. When that royal cavalier of the battlefield which tests men perceived the disposition of those timid ones who did not consider primary causes, 53 the ocean of his terrible majesty boiled over. By the inspiration of his fortune he separated himself from the companionship of those surface-viewers, and relying on the Divine help plunged into that swollen river along with his special followers who always kept by him.

Verse.

Once more he entered upon vengeance
 He urged on his swift steed
 The sparks from the horses' hoofs lighted up the soil
 He came to the river and the fishes' eyes were burnt
 Death became the partner of his spear
 The mouth of the crocodile of evil was opened.

The putting his horse to the river, and the finding bottom occurred at the same time, and this caused joy to the exoteric, and also

was a foretaste of the delight of conquest. At this time he called for his helmet which he had taken off and made over to the Rajah Dīb Cand¹ to hold in his hand and bring along with him. The Rajah produced it, but in the hurry of the advance he had let the nosepiece² of the helmet fall into the road. H.M. said, "It is a good omen for our front (*peshgāh*)³ has been made clear." He then announced to them that there would be victory. Just then one of the active heroes produced before H.M. the head of a rebel. That too was an omen of victory. The king moved on with his faithful followers and when the great officers saw this they dropped the thread of calculation and began to cross the river.

The Mīrzā from his ill-fatedness came out to fight with his benefactor and the king of the age. He appointed Walī Khān, the son of Jajhār Khān Habshī—whom the justice of the Shāhinshāh had capitally punished in the first expedition to Gujrat—the leader of his right wing, and assigned to him a number of Abyssinians and Gujrātis. Muḥammad Khān, the son of Sher Khān Fūlādī, with a large body of Afghans was stationed on the left wing. Shāh Mīrzā and many Badakhshīs and men of Transoxiana whose brains and bones had been nourished⁴ by faithlessness to their salt, were taken to the battlefield by the Mīrzā in person. With an evil striving he addressed himself to his own undoing, and engaged the spiritual and temporal lord. H.M. had come to a high ground one *kos* from the river and was considering the signs of victory when Āṣaf Khān came and did homage, and reported that M. Koka was not aware of the near approach of the standards of fortune, and that when the news of the Shāhinshāh's arrival reached him he thought it was a pleasan-
54 try of Mir Abū Turāb and the other loyalists of the country. After many assurances he had been convinced of the fact, and now the army of Gujrat was drawn up and was in the point of coming out. He had not finished his story and the royal troops had not come up

¹ B. 175, cf. Jahangir's Memoirs (Price), p. 54.

² *Peshbīnī*, *lit.*, nose-front. The word is not given in the dictionary, but I presume it means something that hung down in front and protected the nose, etc. Such a piece is

depicted in B. Plate XIII, No. 43. Jahangir (Tūzak J. 19) calls it *pesh-rūī*.

³ Akbar puns on the words *pesh-bīnī* and *peshgāh*.

⁴ Apparently the meaning is simply that they were inbred traitors.

when the enemy appeared from among the trees. H.M. in reliance upon God proceeded to advance.

Verse.

The Shāhinshāh eager for battle, on his steed
 Like a fire raised high by the wind
 There was a cuirass on his Cyrus-breast,
 A fountain-head put in motion by the ocean
 The eager heroes were immersed in their coats of mail
 Hidden like fire in iron
 Golden standards gleamed on every side [sedition
 They were lamps showing the road of death to the night of
 Lions were careering rein upon rein
 There were heart-piercing lances upon lances
 The brave brandished their swords and cleft the ranks
 They stirred up the earth to the centre (*lit.*, navel).

Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqbāī, Tarkhan Dīwāna and others of the alert heroes who were the marksmen of the centre and were stationed in the van, hastened forward and after a short contest turned back. That rock of firmness (Akbar) addressed Rajah Bhagwān Dās and said through him to all the troops that the enemy appear to be numerous, yet the favour of God towards this suppliant in the Divine Court is greater than man can conceive. It behoves our comrades to hold fast to the cable of the Divine favour, and not give place to perplexity or alarm. Let them be of one heart, one face, and one way, and, avoiding distraction, and dispersion, assail the doomed body of troops which carries red standards, for it appears that Muḥammad Ḥusain M. has made red standards the mark of his special force. None of our brave men must be immoderate in his valour. When we shall have disposed of the ring-leaders in audacity, we shall easily get rid of the rest. He used many wise and encouraging words, and associated with each one of his troops an army from the Divine hosts.

Verse.

Out of wisdom he constructed a loom¹
 With knowledge for brocade, and speech for beauty

¹ Kārgah. A factory or workshop.

The warp he made¹ of soul, and the woof of eloquence,
The dye he took from thought, and the broidery from sense.

55 In his presumptuousness Muḥammad Ḥusain M. separated from his army and came forward with a band of doomed wretches. Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram and Ḥusain Khān represented to H.M. that now was the time to attack in order that the presumptuous one should receive his punishment. He who knew the niceties of the banquet and the battlefield said, “Steadfast and far-seeing wisdom is ever the exhorter and guardian of mankind, and now on this day this priceless jewel must be tested. As yet the space (*lit.*, the round of the ladder) (between the forces) is considerable. Ostensibly, we are a very small body, God forbid that by attacking from a distance our men should get dispersed. The work would not be done properly, nor their valour properly exhibited, and also we would be abandoning caution.” Also, as corporeal illustrations serve to instruct the superficial, he said, “If we close our hands and go to work with the clenched fist it is better than if we undertake a thing with the open hand.” After uttering those wise words he advanced rapidly but in a stately and scientific manner. The spectators learnt thereby the degrees of wisdom, and also understood the stages of courage, and with one accord each heart was a thousand. Sincerity was exalted, and practical wisdom was enlightened. Knowledge of God was also increased, and innate disposition was displayed. At length the royal forces² also drew near; but their order and arrangement did not remain as before. Many of the faint-hearted who belonged to the right wing turned their reins when the fighting became a little hot. Just then, when the enemy had become near, and that tiger-hunting hero resolved to attack, Hāpā³ Cāran also cried out, “’Tis time to

¹ The Lucknow ed. reads *Karū*, a spider’s web, instead of *Karād*.

² Apparently this refers to the main body of Akbar’s army as distinguished from his personal following.

³ Evidently this is a man’s name and has been so treated by the editors in the Index, p. 63. The Cārans were a tribe in Gujrat and resembled the Bhats. One of their duties was

to raise the paean at the time of battle, and no doubt this is what Hāpā did on this occasion. See J. II. 249 for an account of the Cārans. In Jahāngir’s Memoirs (Price), p. 50, Shāh Qulī Maḥram and Ḥusain K. Turkaman are said to have remarked that the time for charging had arrived.

attack." To say and to do were the same thing. The world's lord and his war-loving, devoted followers drew their swords and charged. The cries of Allah Akbar and of Yā Mūn¹ arose and pervaded time and space (*zamān-u-zamīn*).

Verse.

The sword-points were like clouds dripping blood
The brightness of the swords overcame the heart² of the
cloud

The commotion fluttered the mind of Time
The ear of the sphere split with the uproar.

The majesty of the Divine halo which had seized the field of battle, did not suffer that there should be great contest. One or two swords-blows were exchanged, and then the men on the *Shāhinshāh*'s right hand drove off the rebels. Muḥammad Ḥusain M. drove off the men on the king's left. Thinking the day was his, he halted after going some way and could see no trace of his own forces. For just then, the warriors of the right and left wings and some of the centre arrived and fought bravely.

One of the Divine helps, which are always in close attendance on the everlasting dominion, and at this time were especially con- 56
spicuous, was that *Kahak bānhā*³ (rockets), which are a kind of fire-

¹ Badayūnī tells us that this was Akbar's battle-cry on that day. It means, "Lo, the Helper," but I believe that Akbar used it in a double sense and with a special reference to his patron saint M'uīnu-d-dīn of Ajmere. It probably explains the "Ajmrī, Ajmrī" of Saif Koka mentioned a little lower down.

² I owe the interpretation of this line to Maulvī 'Abdul Haq Abīd, who informs me that the meaning is that the cloud lost heart, on seeing the brightness of the swords. It is a hyperbolical way of saying that the flashes of the swords overcame the darkness of the clouds.

³ I think this word must be the Arabic *Kahaka* roaring, and the meaning must be the "roaring, or screaming (whizzing) rockets." There is the variant *Katak* which means a short stick, cf. Badayūnī, text I. 418, l. 4, and Ranking's translation and note, p. 537. Meninski gives *Kehkehet* as meaning a roaring lion. Very possibly, however, *Kahak* merely means little from Kah and the affix K. I doubt now if Badayūnī's word applies. In the *Tūzak Jahan-gīrī* (Ahmed's ed.), p. 19, the rockets are called *Kaukabāī* کویای (stars). The *Memoirs* (Price) 55 give an exaggerated account of the incident.

work, were being discharged against the imperial army, though by the guardianship of the stewards of fate no harm ensued, and that one of them fell among the thorn-bushes and made such a noise that one of the enemy's most notable elephants got alarmed, and by his confusion produced a great rout among the foe. This was a help to the combatants of fortune. When H.M. had gone some way he drew rein in order to take stock of events. A strange state of matters displayed itself. The army of the centre had not yet arrived, and the other troops had driven off the reserve of the enemy. H.M. was standing alone on the battlefield, and engaged in combat. Except Tārā Cand and A'alam Khān, no other of his personal retinue was in attendance. Apparently the world-adorning God had impressed upon all the case of their own safety and had loosed the thread of the understanding of far-seeing loyalists. Otherwise it would have been fitting that so many loyal heroes should have guarded the holy personality, and have regarded their comradeship with H.M. as the most glorious form of Divine worship, and as the most urgent of the affairs of royalty! During this time of solitude—No, how shall I say solitude when the (mystic) armies were careering on his right and left?—it appeared that Muḥammad Husain M. was engaged in fighting. Mān Singh ¹ Darbārī displayed valour in the presence of the Shāhinshāh and became victorious. Rāghū Dās Kachwāha, who had no armour, gave his life in H.M.'s presence, and Muḥammad Wafā, who among the loyal *celhas* ² (disciples) was a man of few words and many deeds, and one who did not sell his services, also displayed courage in the presence of the lord of the earth, and fell wounded from his horse. Karn, the grandson of Māl Deo, also distinguished himself in his presence.

Verse.

The warriors waged such war
That hand ³ and collar hung together
Blood and sweat were commingled
They ⁴ inflamed the wounds with their teeth.

¹ Not Mān Singh Kuar. See Blochmann 506.

² B. 253.

³ A phrase for great exertion.

⁴ I presume the meaning is that they were so furious that they even fought with their teeth and aggravated the wounds thereby.

Though on this day all the royal servants did great deeds, yet these few (whom I have mentioned) though they did not know that H.M. was observing them, especially distinguished themselves.

In the midst of the contest one wretch attacked H.M. and struck his horse's head with his sword. The horse reared, but H.M. laid hold of the neck with his left hand and pushed him down. With 57 the spear in his right hand he so struck the wretch that the weapon pierced his armour and sunk into his body. H.M. was trying to extract the spear when its head broke off and the adversary fled. Another wretch then came up and aimed a blow with his sword at H.M.'s thigh. The real guardian (God) prevented any harm, and the villain fled before the Divine halo. He had gone a little way when another villain came and aimed his lance at H.M. The *cela* Gūjar disposed of him by wounding him with his spear. The Khedive of the world adorned the battlefield by his courage, and in the midst of such a crowd of villains, displayed valour which exceeded the masterpieces of ancient times.

Verse.

The dragon-slaying hero with mace and arrow
The lion-throwing horseman and seizer of the brave
Wielder of the head-strewing dagger
Scatterer of the blood of the stiff-necked
Whiles he poured out blood, and whiles raised dust
Whiles he wounded elephants and whiles he killed men.

During this time the royal centre arrived with a thousand painful feelings because Surkh Badakhshī had wickedly and foolishly come before it wounded and brought bad news about H.M. When the glance of the lion-hearted sovereign fell upon this force he, from abundant foresight and a martial spirit, went towards it and cried out, "Brave men, come up quickly and dispose of these wretches." Shujā'at K. and some others of the fortunate ones recognised the voice of that spiritual and temporal leader and galloped with a loose rein in order to put down the villains. They entirely drove off Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and all who were in that field of dishonour. Before this some of the distinguished men of the centre, such as Suiyid Maḥmūd Khān Bārha, Rai¹ Raisingh, and Farḥat Khān had left the centre and

¹ Blochmann 389.

given proof of valour. Owing to the genius and fortune of the Shāhinshāh the breezes of victory ¹ blew and the azure anemones blossomed. A great victory appeared—such as might be a proem to world-conquering victories. H.M. returned thanks to God and turning his reins slowly proceeded towards Aḥmadābād. He inquired about the combatants, and also investigated the cause of the delay incoming of M. Koka and the army of Gujrat. L'al Kalāwant ² represented that Saif Khān Kokaltāsh ³ had devoted his life and gone to the other world. That mine of grace and fountain of appreciation was saddened by this catastrophe, but calmed himself and inquired minutely into the circumstances. At last it appeared that Saif K. had fought like Rustum in the first onset and had discomfited his adversary. Two conspicuous wounds adorned his countenance. Saying “*Ajmīrī, Ajmīrī*” ⁴ he was searching for the stirrup of the Shāhinshāh (*i.e.*, was looking for Akbar). Husain K. said “When I met him I congratulated him on his victory and on his wounds (*lit.*, on the redness of his face) and then we separated.” It appeared that when Muḥammad Husain M. with some of his vagabonds was contending on the battlefield, the Koka (Saif K.) came up to him and after displaying great courage departed to the holy land (*i.e.*, died). From the time that he had failed to be present at the battle of Sarnāl he in his loyalty and devotion was continually calling for death. On that day

¹ Apparently A. F. plays on the words *fīrūzī* which means both victorious and the blue colour of the turquoise. *Bīhrūz* is a blue crystal. I do not know what flower is meant by *shaqāiqbahrūzī*, but conjecture that it may mean a blue anemone, or a tulip.

² Blochman 612 and note 4.

³ Blochmann 350.

⁴ I think that the meaning of this passage is explained by Badayūnī, Lowe 170 where we are told that Akbar's battle-cry on that day was *Yā M'uīn*, *i.e.*, O Helper. But Akbar's patron saint was Muīnu-d-din Cistī of Ajmere, and it was no doubt with reference to him that Akbar raised

this cry which is also mentioned in A. F.'s account of the battle. The *Ajmīrī Ajmīrī* of Saif K. Koka then I regard as Saif's or A. F.'s rendering of the phrase *Yā M'uīn*. The *M'aāṣir* II 374 gives the phrase without comment, and the Lucknow editor also passes it over. It will be seen that Badayūnī twice speaks here of the battle-cry *Yā Muīn*, pp. 170 and 171. He also says that Saif K. plunged into the whirlpool of fight and was killed just as this cry was being raised. Cf. the account in the *Tūzuk* (S. Ahmad's ed.) p. 20 and also that in the *Memoirs* (Price) 57. The *Tūzuk*, p. 19 says the battle cries were Allah Akbar and *Yā Muīn*.

the same wine effervesced in his faithful brain and made him throw himself singly against a host and so make the last journey. This nursling of wisdom regarded his life as coming from H.M. and was firm footed in his fidelity. His parents also regarded H.M. as the cause of the Divine gift (of a son).

The brief account of this instructive event is that his honoured mother always gave birth to daughters. His father was annoyed and used to make a disturbance. At the time when she was pregnant with this loyal servant, the father broke out and said, "If this time too a daughter comes, I shall never cohabit with you again." That chaste one went to H.M. Miriam-makānī and described the reproach (that her husband had made), and asked permission to cause an abortion so that she might be saved from such censures. On the way (back) she encountered the Shāhinshāh, and when he heard what had happened, he, though very young, said, "If you wish to retain our affection, you will not touch this matter. God will bestow upon you a son (*farzand*) of a happy star." Though that chaste lady had obtained the permission of H.M. Miriam-makānī, she regarded the direction of the nursling of fortune as a mystic message, and abstained from her intention. What had proceeded from the lips of the Knower of mysteries came to pass.

At the time when that prince of the people of insight was in grief for the catastrophe, Zain K. Koka, younger brother of the departed, had done valiantly and laid low two of the enemy, and had picked up Subhān Qulī Turk, who had been left on the battlefield. He was coming to kiss the feet (of Akbar) when he heard the news of his honoured brother's wounds. Distracted by affection he was going to assist him, when he found that there was another state of things (*viz.*, that Saif was dead). He remained for a while sunk in grief and then was comforted by the loyal graciousness. By the royal order Abdu-r-Raḥmān,¹ the son of Muyīd Beg was appointed to take charge of him in his distressed condition.

At this time when H.M. was distressed at the losing so faithful 59 a follower and at the delay in the arrival of M. Koka, news-bearers as a comfort to his ever vernal soul brought the good tidings that Muḥammad Husain M. had been captured by the imperial servants.

¹ Blochmann 465.

He said "Were I to consider far-seeing prudence, I'd shed the blood of such an ingrate, and so get satisfaction for the catastrophe of the Koka." But how could he do so when innate kindness and gentleness made him hesitate to loose the bond between his spirit and his body! Just then they brought that ingrate and nescient of the Truth into the presence. He had a wound in the face. When he had been wounded and had fled before the majestic light of the Shāhinshāh, and the onset of the heroes of the centre, his horse's feet came against thornbushes and fell. Gadā 'Alī, one of the royal champions, came up to him and said "Come, I'll take you out of this battlefield." He consented, and Gadā 'Alī put him in front of himself on his horse and was taking him towards the presence. One of the servants of the Khān Kilān joined him as he was mounting him on his horse. When they brought him to the presence, both claimed the reward. Those standing by H.M. asked him what was the fact, and that ill-fated one, now that he had awoke from his dream of negligence, spoke the truth, *viz.*, "The salt of the king of realm and religion captured me." When that lord of gentleness saw the wretch in that condition, the ocean of his graciousness effervesced, and he gave an order that his hands which were tied behind his back should be released and fastened in front, and he made him over to Mān Singh Darbārī. Just then Shāh Madad, who was the Mīrzā's Koka, and a partner with him in disloyalty, was brought into the presence. H.M. pierced him with a spear which he had in his hand, and he at once descended to the depths of annihilation. It was stated in H.M.'s court that Bhūpat, the brother of Rajah Bhagwān Dās, had in the glorious battle of Sarnāl drunk the cup of death from this man's hand.

One of the wonderful kindnesses of the Shāhinshāh which showed itself at this time was that while he was standing and returning thanks to God, a disturbance and noise arose. On inquiry it appeared that Muḥammad Husain M. was asking water from Mān Singh Darbārī. Farḥat Khān cela hearing this struck him on the head with his hands, and cried out—What warrant is there for giving water to such
 60 a disloyalist and rebel? That fountain of grace and gentleness reproved Farḥat Khān when he heard of this, and called for his special supply of water and had it given to Muḥammad¹ Husain. The

¹ Much of this rhapsody is omitted in the Lucknow edition.

lightning of benevolence shone forth comprehensiveness had its market-day. Appreciation had its adornment. The standard of forgiveness and grace to sinners was heightened. The sublime jewel of his disposition became phosphorescent. The unique gem of liberality became glorious. The coin of humanity was tested. Redress was given on the field of battle. Deeds like this astonish the superficial who are confined in the bonds of what is ordinary, but the far-sighted who worship spiritualities and who have some acquaintance with H.M.'s noble qualities are not surprised at them. Rather they regard them as part of his natural disposition.

When by the Divine aid such wondrous things had come to pass, and M. Koka and the Gujrāt army had not arrived, and most of the day had been spent, H.M. advanced from where he had halted. Muḥammad Husain M. was made over to Rai Rai Singh in order that he might put him on an elephant and convey him to the city. At this time, when many gallant men had retired and were resting after their labours and dangers, and about a hundred men were in attendance on H.M., suddenly a large force came in view, consisting of more than 5,000 men. Men were considering and conjecturing who they were. Many thought they were M. Koka and the army of Gujrāt, and some thought it was Shāh M., who had fled at the beginning of the fight and gone towards Maḥmūdābād. After a time H.M. ascertained it was the rebel Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk who was coming. Agitation sate on the brows of most of the retinue, some because they were anxious for the Shāhinshāh because he had few attendants, and others because they were timid. The rank-breaking sovereign, like a raging tiger who in the exuberance of his youth essays his force and fierceness, displayed wondrous exultation, and before disposing of the foe addressed himself to encouraging his companions.

Verse.

A single person acting along with him
 Needed not to fear a hundred thousand
 When the pure God gave his (Akbar's) fortune
 What fear of the enemy's soldiers remained?

He made ready for battle and mounted a world-traversing steed **61**
 and uttered lofty and inspiring words. He gave orders for the

beating of drums and the blowing of trumpets.¹ The drummer was so alarmed that he could neither hear the sacred order, nor address himself to his work till he was brought to his senses by the menace of a spear, and began to beat his drum. Shujā'at Khān, Rājā Bhagwānt Dās, and some other brave men advanced a little way and proceeded to discharge arrows. H.M. said "Be not hasty, and await mystic victories for soon they will bring his head." During this tumult he, at the instance of Rājā Bhagwānt Dās and Rai Rai Singh ordered that Muḥammad Husain M., the foundation of the sedition, should be put to death. When Almighty God wills the dispatching of anyone to annihilation, what good will the kindness and grace of the Shāhinshāh do him? But it behoves the Unique One of creation—for whose designs the Divine goodness is surety—to be a fountain of grace, and a mine of kindness.

That force which showed such pomp, became more and more confused as it approached. Ikhtiyār-al-mulk separated from it and proceeded with a few others to withdraw himself rapidly from the whirlpool of destruction to the shore of safety. He struck upon the thorns and was thrown from his saddle to the ground. Sohrāb Turkman, who was one of the royal cavaliers, had made him his mark from a distance, and was following him. At this stumble he came up to him and lightened his shoulders of the burden of his head. On this occasion he was much agitated and died in an unmanly manner.

The detailed account of this wretch is that he engaged with a large force in besieging Aḥmadābād, and was a stumbling-block in the path of M. Koka, Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān, and others. When he heard of M. Muḥammad Husain's capture and of the victory of H.M. he became confused and fled. What eyes of vision have the inwardly blind, and where have they the wisdom of heart to see the end of their design or to understand their own good. That ill-fated one passed with 200 men on H.M.'s right, while his large army and array of elephants went on the left of H.M. and threw the dust of defeat on their own heads. By the Divine aid a glorious victory displayed itself in the mirror of desire. A work of many thousands of years was accomplished in nine days, for most of the first day of

¹ *Karanā.* Blochmann 51.

leaving the capital was spent in bidding adieu to the servants of fortune's threshold, and the day of the victory, in the beginning of which H.M. halted, cannot be taken into account. On the field of battle there were counted 1,200 of the enemy as killed, and the wounded who died in the fields and meadows, and near the battle-field, were reckoned at 500. A similar number may be reckoned as that of those who were wounded and escaped half-dead. Time with the tongue of action (*zabān-i-ḥāl*) came rejoicing and uttered this strain of joy :—

Verse.

By your Fortune, your enemies were, one by one
Cast by Time into enduring loss
Man killed one and heaven's avenging dagger
Cut the throat¹ of one and reft another of house and home.

It would seem that this verse was a representation of what **62** happened to those wicked and rebellious brothers. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. died in the custody of S'aīd Khān. Muḥammad Ḥusain M. became food for the blood-consuming sword at the banquet of the Shāhin shāh's wrath. Shāh Mīrzā threw the dust of disgrace on his head and became a desert-wandering vagabond. About one hundred of the victorious heroes of the royal army drank the *sherbet* of martyrdom. The chief of those devoted ones was Saif Khān Koka. Sohrāb, the cousin of Ṣādiq Khān, Rāghū Dās, and Timar 'Alī Jalāir made over the coins of their lives to Death's treasurer.

When H.M.'s heart was set at rest by the instructive catastrophe of Ikhtiyār-al-mulk he proceeded onwards. A little of the day remained when another army was seen in battle array. The brave men advanced, and had nearly fought when Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaznavī went ahead and learnt that it was M. Koka! The imperial servants rejoiced, and H.M. the Shāhinshāh expressed his pleasure at the arrival of the Mīrzā. He embraced him in the manner that affectionate fathers embrace their loving sons. Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān and the other Gujrāt officers were exalted by doing homage, they asked how they could express their thanks for the saving of their lives. Just then Sohrāb brought the head of the bewildered

¹ Ibrāhīm Ḥusain died of a wound in the throat.

one (Ikhtiyār-al-mulk) and was applauded by the imperial servants. H.M. prostrated himself in devotion to God, and what had passed from his lips had become fulfilled. As a lesson to the generality, an order was issued that a tower should be made of the heads of the rebels. At the end of the day H.M. reached Aḥmadābād, and the palaces of the Sultans of Gujrāt were glorified by his advent. Bulletins of victory were sent to various countries, and couriers carried the news to mortals. To Mozaffar Khān and the officers of the province of **63** Mālwa, and to Rājā Mān Singh, there were sent rescripts to the effect that as a complete victory had been gained, and H.M. had decided upon returning, they should do homage in the capital. H.M. engaged in those delightful palaces in promoting the loyal servants, and in acts of liberality. He gave great gifts to everyone. High and low experienced his favour. M. Koka represented that some learned men and lofty recluses had plotted with the rebels. As in H.M.'s judgment they were found not to be implicated, they were treated with royal favours. Among them was S. Wajīhu-d-dīn¹ who was famed for his knowledge of the rational and traditionary sciences, and who occupied himself with the rules of contentment, seclusion, and spiritual improvement. The Mīrzā represented that property of the rebels had been found in his house, and H.M. asked the Shāikh "What connection had you with such matters?" The Maulvī replied "Acquaintanceship and delicacy made me give them one of my houses." As his honesty was evident, he was shielded from the evils of the time. Similarly, the sons of Mīr Ghīāṣ-ud-dīn Qādirī were brought in, as properties of Ikhtiyār-al-mulk were in their house. They also were preserved by the far-seeingness and kindness of the Khedive of the world. At this same time Shāikh Mozaffar, a relative of Shāikh 'Abdu-n-nabī and who was the Ṣadr of Gujrāt, was produced. Before this he had been bastinadoed by the Mīrzā on account of greed and of his trying to take bribes. When he came before H.M. he experienced the shade of his benevolence and remained in safety. So also were many of the wounded

¹ B. 415, 458 and 538. Badayūnī, 111. 43, has a long account of this saint, and calls him Miyān Wajīhu-d-dīn Aḥmadābādī. He says he was

a follower of Muḥammad Ghauṣ and died in 998 (1590). Jahāngīr describes a visit he paid to his shrine. Tūzuk, 211.

rebels brought before H.M., and obtained safety from his kindness. After that he went to the houses of I'timād Khān Gujrāti and occupied himself in the work of administration. The oppressed obtained relief by his justice, and the ruined world flourished anew.

During the time that he was occupying the abode of I'timād Khān, Shujā'at¹ Khān from constitutional folly advanced his foot beyond the mark of moderation and did foolishly. He used improper language with regard to Mun'im Khān. He did not regard the respect due to the sublime assembly, and transgressed the rules of the *torah* (etiquette or code) of the eternal monarchy. Whoever is not respectful to his superior and especially to the royal commander-in-chief is verbally censured by the sovereign, and this to noble minds is more severe than strokes with the glittering sword. **64** Accordingly he was fittingly rebuked and made over to Qāsim 'Alī Khān in order that he might be taken before the Khān-Khānān and be punished or forgiven by him as he thought proper. This treatment was not for himself only, but intended to be a lesson to all the foolish ones of the court. At the same time Qutbu-d-din Khān, Naurang Khān and a body of troops were sent to the province of Broach, as Shāh M. had fled to that quarter, in order that they might seize him and inflict suitable punishment on him. Rajaḥ Bhagwānt Dās, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, Lashkar Khān and a number of other servants were dispatched in order that they might, by way of Idar, go to the territory of the Rānā (Pertāb of Udaipūr) and put down the factious ones of that country, and chastise properly every one who was disobedient. As before, the government of Pattan was given to the Khān Kilān. Dandūqa and Dūlqa and some other states were given in jagir to Wazīr Khān and he was sent to that country.

¹ Blochmann 371.

CHAPTER XII.

RETURN OF THE WORLD-CONQUERING STANDARDS TO THE CAPITAL.

When the administrative mind of the Shāhinshāh had disposed of the affairs of Gujrāt in the space of eleven days he proceeded towards the capital on the *roz-i-roz*, the 31st *Shahrīyūr*, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 16 *Jumāda-alawal* (13 September 1573). On that day he halted at *Mahmūdābād*.¹ Next day he encamped at the town of *Dūlqa*. In this pleasant place he stayed one day. Here he conferred honours on M. Koka and after giving him sage instructions permitted him to depart. He also exalted Khawāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn ‘*Alī*’² of *Qazwīn*, Bakhshī, who was distinguished for good services and for eloquence and had done excellent work in this campaign, by the title of *Āṣaf Khān* and left him as Bakhshī of the province of Gujrāt, in order that he might act under H.M. Koka and assist in the work of administration. All the arrangements for Gujrāt were made at this station, and on the day of *Ardībihisht* 3 *Mihr*, Divine month, he proceeded rapidly towards the capital. In two marches he reached the town of *Karī* and from there arrived in two marches at *Sathpūr*.³

There he heard that the army which had been dispatched by way of *Īdar* under the command of *Rajah Bhagwānt Dās* had reached the town of *Badhnagar*,⁴ and that *Rāwālīā*, the *ghulām* of Sher Khān 65 *Fūlādī*, who had strengthened *Karī* at the time when H.M. marched to Gujrāt, was now as formerly breathing the breath of defiance (in *Badhnagar*). Next day H.M. halted where he was, in order to see if he (*Bhagwānt Dās*) needed his assistance. When it appeared that the fort had been taken and that *Rāwālīā*, who had put on a *jogi*’s dress, had been caught, H.M. proceeded on rapidly, and when he reached *Sirohī* he left *Ṣādiq Khān* there with some loyal followers in order that they might keep the peace there and repress the seditious.

¹ Jarrett II. 241 and 253.

² Blochmann 433.

³ qu. *Satalpūr* Jarrett 254. A variant gives *Sitpūr*, and this is supported by the *Iqbāl-nāma*.

⁴ The *Badnagar* of Jarrett II. 254. It is *Badnagar* in *Iqbāl-nāma*. It lies west of *Īdar* and *Dūngarpūr* and is marked *Burnuggar* in *Bayley’s* map of *Gujrat*. See also p. 437 of text.

On the day of Sarosh 17 Mihr, Divine month, 27th September 1573, he alighted at Ajmir and visited the shrine of Khawāja M'uīnu-d-dīn. Those connected with the shrine, and others who were needy benefited by H.M.'s bounty. At the end of the next day an order was given that the main camp should proceed slowly, stage by stage, while he himself should hasten on like the wind. He travelled the rest of that day, the whole night and to the end of the next day, and arrived near Bakar.¹ There Rajah Todar Mal who had been hastily summoned from the capital, had the bliss of doing homage. Then he was sent away in order that he might make the settlement of Gujrāt, etc. He was instructed to make a just settlement without regard to the covetous demands of men, and to send the statement to court so that the clerks might act according to it with reference to the soldiers and subjects.

In short, he halted for a little in the beginning of the evening at the village of Newata,² where is the house of the Rām Dās Kacwāha,³ who performed the duties of service towards him. After midnight he again set out on his swift horse and arrived in the evening at Hans Maḥal. He did not halt there, but went on that night and the next day. On the Sunday he rested in the *pargana* of Toda. When a watch of the day remained he left it and after midnight reached Basāwar. There the Khawāja Jahān and Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, who had come from the capital to welcome him, did homage. They accompanied him on his onward journey and at dawn the town of Bajūna was reached. There he rested for a while. There an order was given that the victorious heroes who were in the retinue should take their spears or lances in their hands and so proceed to the capital. After 66 1½ watches of the day of Bād the 22nd Mihr, Divine month, corresponding to Monday 8 Jumāda-l akhira (5 October 1573) he marched to the capital. On that day a great number of the officers and nobles hastened out to welcome him, and the country was full of high and low. H.M. reached Fathpūr when a watch of the day remained. Fresh water came into the canals, and the world became a flowing garden! Their highnesses the Begams and the princes and the

¹ The Bhakar of the Ain. Jarrett II. 267. It is on the borders of Ajmir. Perhaps the Bīakoī of Jarrett 273.

² The Lucknow ed. has Hūna.

Perhaps the place is Lūnī or Būnlī. See Blochmann 398 n. 1. and A. N. text III. 326, line 9. If so, it is in Ranthanbhūr.

³ Blochmann 483.

secluded ladies were gladdened by seeing H.M. Largesses were bestowed. The eyes of those who longed were filled with light, and the hearts of those who waited were filled with eternal joy. By the Divine aid the march to this distant country (Gujrāt), its conquest, and pacification and return were accomplished in forty-three days.

Where is the brilliant writer who could fittingly describe the wonders of this instructive expedition? When the eye-witnesses were filled with amazement, how can hearers thereof describe it? The justice-distributing Khedive at such a time of success, and the display of such wondrous deeds, one of a thousand of which would have led many mighty men of yore into negligence and corporeal pleasures, behaved contrary to the disposition of his age and of mortals and became yet more discreet and more an adorning of the *divan* of justice and addressed himself to spiritual improvement. He enlightened the world by lofty principles and wise actions. The great men and the officers of the State came from various parts of the kingdom and did homage, and attained their desires. One month had not elapsed when Rajah Bhagwānt Dās came to court with the army which H.M. had sent by the way of Īdar. He had done good service and his reputation was increased. He brought Umrā, the son and heir of the Rānā,¹ to do homage, and also Rāwāliyā, who had fallen into his hands at the taking of Badhnagar, and he (Bhagwānt) was encompassed with royal favours.

67 The brief account of the campaign of this victorious army is that it in a short space of time took the strong fort of Badhnagar and then proceeded towards Īdar. The Zamindār thereof, Narain Dās Rāthor,² recognised the arrival of the imperial officers as a great honour and went forward to welcome them. He presented suitable gifts, and when the victorious army reached Gogānda,³ which was the Rānā's residence, Rānā Kīkā expressed shame and repentance for his past conduct and prolonged deficiency in service, and by way

¹ The Lucknow ed. has the son of the Zamindar, and Blochmann 333, calls him Amr and represents him as the son of the Zamindar or Rānā of Īdar, but it seems that he really was the son of Rānā Kīkā. See Jarret II. 269 where he is described as Pertāb's successor.

² A.F. speaks of him as such an austere Hindu that he only ate the grains of corn voided by a cow. Jarrett II. 241.

³ Text Galkanda. See Blochmann 418 and note.

of submission came and visited Rajah Bhagwānt Dās. He also took him to his house and treated him with respect and hospitality. He sent along with him his son and heir, and represented that by his ill-fortune a feeling of desolation (*tawāḥḥushī*) had taken possession of him, and that now he presented his petition through the Rajah and was sending his son as a mark of obedience. When his desolate (or savage) heart should become soothed by the lapse of time, he too would come and do homage in person. After a little time Rajah Todar Mal also arrived from Gujrāt and did homage. He made over to the imperial archives a corrected settlement (*jama' manaqqaḥ*) of those territories. The Rānā visited him also on his way and displayed flattery and submissiveness.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Moẓaffar Khān and his being promoted to the lofty office of *vakīl*. Though such an adorer of the throne of realm and religion requires not a *vakīl*, nor a Vizier, for his far-seeing capacity is responsible for all the duties of sovereignty, yet H.M. either in order to veil himself, or from humility before God, or in order to increase the dignity of loyal servants, from time to time makes over the duties of sovereignty to a courtier. Accordingly on this occasion he determined that the office of *vakīl* should again be entrusted to Moẓaffar Khān. From Gujrāt an order was issued that Moẓaffar Khān should be turned back from wherever he might be and should come and present himself when the victorious standards reached the capital. Moẓaffar Khān took with him Khāldīn Khān, Mīrak Khān Kolābī, Shāh Qulī Maimandī, Khawāja Shamsu-d-dīn and others of the Mālwa army and proceeded towards Gujrāt. Near Ujjain he joined Rajah Mān Singh who was proceeding from Kaciwāra to Gujrāt. Khawāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khawāfī¹ says that two Seōrās (Jain ascetics) ascertained by means of astrology and stated that the army would shortly return. Moẓaffar Khān, in order to test them had kept them in a kind of arrest. At the town of Dhūb,² which

¹ Blochmann 445. Apparently this passage means that Shamsu-d-dīn had written a history of the campaign, or of Moẓaffar K's transactions. A.F. quotes him again when describing the mutiny in Bengal and the circumstances of Moẓaffar's defeat.

² It seems probable that Dhūb or Dhūp is a mistake for Dohad, the well-known place on the boundary between Mālwa and Gujrāt, and which is supposed to derive its name from that circumstance. In that case the spelling should be Dohadd. It is

is a place between Malwa and Gujrāt, letters were received from Āṣaf 68 Khān and Qāsim 'Alī Sīstānī, to the effect that the good fortune of Shāhinshāh had made the conquest of Gujrāt, and that the seditious and rebellious had been cast from the height of presumption into the abyss of ruin. A *firmān* was also issued that the officers should stop at whatever place they had reached and prepare to proceed to the capital. Surprise was expressed at the acuteness of those two recluses. There were rejoicings at the good news of victory and the army proceeded to return. Mān Singh went to his fief and Moẓaffar Khān had not yet recruited himself at Sārangpūr when news came that the royal standards had reached the capital. Moẓaffar went off post haste and did homage on the day of Anīrān 30 Abān, Divine month. He was received with princely favours, and was appointed to the high position of Vakīl. He applied himself with ability to discharge his financial and political duties. When he took charge of his former duties, and by virtue of the Shāhinshāh's fortune did good services, his eye owing to his ill-fate lost sight of the glorious aid of the God-given fortune and regarded only itself. He began to quaff the sense-destroying wine of worldly success, and ascribed every administrative success to his own abilities. He appropriated to himself the management of external affairs, and because the world's lord had for reasons of policy conferred on him the title of *Vakīl*, the simpleton gradually came to consider himself fit for such an office, and his arrogance increased. He failed to comprehend the point of the Shāhinshāh's remissness and shutting of the eyes (*lit.* winking) and looked to himself and became self-confident. At last the question of branding (*sakhn-i-dāgh i-sipāhī*) came up and as he was drunk with the intoxication of presumption, and his understanding was coated with rust, he did not comprehend the matter and made foolish remarks.

The short account of this is : H.M.'s holy head was grieved to find that there were oppositions between masters and servants. For, low-natured and mercenary officers, who had no particle of sense or loyalty, were wont to consider that their own profit consisted in others'

famous as the birthplace of Aurangzeb. Khāfī K.I.296. It is the Dhod of Jarrett II. 256 and the Dohad of I. G.

XI, 366. Aurangzeb refers to it as his birthplace in Letter XXXI, p. 35 of Jamshed Bilimoria's translation.

loss, and practised much injustice, indiscrimination and inappreciation. Consequently, servants on the occurrence of a slight contretemps cast the dust of infidelity on their heads and chose other masters. From darkness of intellect they did not apprehend the baseness of disloyalty. The masters and leaders too were overcome by cupidity and strove to gather wealth and neglected to preserve their honour. They always gave their servants little and bartered honour for silver and gold (*dirham u dīnār*). The world-adorning mind of the Shāh which had for the sake of preserving the veil, abandoned the distribution of degrees, and of pays and stipends—which is the first work of great rulers—resolved that he would remove this veil, and conduct these matters by the light of his own far-seeing intelligence. Accordingly, he promulgated the branding regulation, the 69 conversion of the imperial territories into crown-lands, and the fixing the grades of the officers of State. He decided that he would carry out all these measures in accordance with the steadiness, the services, the loyalty, disinterestedness and energy of the officers. As spiritual undertakings were always more important than external affairs, and as he did not find an interlocutor or an assistant who was fit for this matter, he on sundry occasions discussed the question with the intimate partakers of his holy entertainments. Rajah Todar Mal used to submit that it was a good idea which had entered his mind, and that it was owing to the general want of understanding among men that the thing had not occurred to them.¹ Assuredly most of the soldiers would be loyal, and their zeal would be increased by this decision. But it was most probable that Mun'im K. and Mozaffar K. would not approve of the plan.

When Mozaffar K. became the transactor of business at the sublime Court, the proposition was laid before him, but he, from self-conceit and lack of understanding, showed reluctance to carry out the sacred regulations and fell out of favour.

¹ Text *jiz ain badil namīrasid*. But the I. O. MSS. and the Cawnpore edition have *cīzī badil namīrasid*, and this I have taken to be the true reading. Akbar's changes were very sweeping and attended with much suffering. See infra p. 457,

Fath Ullah's first remark, and B. 140 n. and Badayūnī, Lowe 176 and 192. It was Shahbāz K. who introduced the branding and he only revived old regulations of 'Alāu-d-dīn and Sher Shāh.—See Elliot IV. 551.

CHAPTER XIII.

SECOND EXPEDITION OF H.M.'S ARMY TO BENGAL AND BIHAR,
AND THE PUNISHMENT OF THE EVIL AND SEDITIOUS.

The totality of the firmly-based energy of the sovereign of our auspicious age is directed towards enabling the inhabitants, both great and small, of every country, to worship God in accordance with their capacities, and to make harmony between their outward and their inward condition, and to arrange that they do not extend the foot of propriety beyond their carpet, nor indulge in self-worship and self-exaltation. Rather may they rise somewhat higher than this stage and become disciplined, so that while not deserving the appellation of ignorant they may also not merit the description of being idle and foolish! In the case of every country to which the lord of the earth has led his armies, and of every tribe which has felt the shade of his world-conquering troops, his sole purpose has been to improve the condition of that country or to educate that tribe. Accordingly, during the time when Sulaimān Karārānī¹ governed Bengal and Bihar, as he always remembered his position, and paid the respect of obedience, H.M. regarded such outward submission as if it was real obedience (*lit.* bought it at the price of real obedience), and so that tribe (the Afghans) sustained no injury from the victorious troops of the Shāhinshāh. And though he (Sulaimān) was on account of his secret wickedness liable to punishment in the ante-chamber of chastisement, yet as in the eyes of the wise man of the age (Akbar) external regularity is subsidiary to internal order and beauty, his outer garment
70 of (submission) was a means of saving the tribe. When he died, and the time came of ill-fated and intoxicated young men, who neglected to preserve outward appearances, and especially when the government of that country fell to Dāūd, the younger son of Sulaimān, the scarf of hypocrisy was rent, and he stretched his foot beyond

¹ The above silly tirade is not in the Lucknow edition which begins with the word Sulaimān.

his condition and became an element of disturbance in the country. Some account of this has already been given. The Shāhinshāh's genius applied itself to the disciplining of that tribe and to the improvement of the condition of the subjects. Though he (Dāūd) had been worthy of punishment before this time, yet in accordance with the canon of mighty sovereignty that great matters should be preferred to ordinary ones, this task, which was of an ordinary nature, remained behind the veil of postponement. Now that the mind of the world's Khedive was free of the rebels of Gujrāt, he turned his face towards the amendment of the eastern provinces, and the overthrow of the stiff-necked and presumptuous ones of those territories. As soon as he reached the capital he sent off Lashkar Khān Mir Bakhshī and Parmānand, a relation of Todar Mal, who had charge of the fleet, *i.e.*, the war-boats containing the artillery and the men attached thereto, along with the fleet, and an urgent order was issued to the great officers and to holders of fiefs in that country that they should act harmoniously together and not deviate from the instructions of Mun'im Khān the Khān-Khānān.

One of the remarkable things in our lord's good fortune is that his opponents accomplish a work which the imperial servants could not effect by a hundred strivings. Accordingly, a new proof of this was given by Dāūd's putting to death Lūdī Khān. He was far-reaching in stratagems, and had a vigorous mind for plans, and was the rational spirit of the eastern provinces, and was helpful in promoting the cause of the Afghans. By help of the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh he became opposed to Dāūd, who had been raised up by him. And it has already been described how Dāūd's killing his own cousin, the son of Tāj Khān, upset Lūdī's mind, and how Mun'im Khān escaped from his great danger. As he (Lūdī) had not effected a genuine relationship with eternal dominion (*i.e.*, with Akbar), and in appearance he had quarrelled with his benefactor, all that wisdom¹ of his became a hindrance to him, and the loyal

¹ Ān hama 'aql 'aqīla shud. The Ghiāsu-lughat gives a rope or a tether as one of the meanings of 'aqīla. 'Aqīlā also means a secluded,

or bashful woman, and perhaps the meaning is that Lūdī's reason became secluded, that is, disappeared from sight.

Afghans turned away from him. Dāūd by the efforts of Qatlū, Gūjar, Shams Khān Mūsāzai, Ism‘aīl Silāḥdār and others, strengthened Garhī, and opened his hands to distribute the treasure of Sulaimān. Those who were of little sense and of a fly-like disposition gathered around him, and Lūdī who presumed upon his own craft and experience and his foolish and vaunting acquaintances, became helpless and took shelter in the fort of Rhotās. Dāūd appointed a force against him and it arrived near Rhotās. As
71 Lūdī was helpless he turned to the sublime court, and asked help from Mun‘im Khān. The Khān-Khānān sent Hāshim Khān, Tengrī Qulī Khān, Bārī Tāwācī-bāshī¹ and Maulānā Maḥmūd Akhūnd with a force to assist him with sword and counsel. He also moved forward himself as possibly Lūdī would come and see him, and the affairs of Bengal and Bihār would be easily disposed of.

This state of affairs came to H.M.’s knowledge at the time he was at the capital, and he with the tongue of fulfilment gave out the good news of victory and conquest. H.M. gave some of his sublime attention to the facilitating of the conquest of that country. Though a numerous army had been nominated for this service, yet it is not every one who has such a nature that he performs his service equally well whether he is kept in sight or not. In order to stir up the feeble and those of a mercantile nature who reckon service without pay, and exertion without wages as their loss, and want prompt recompense, Rajah Todar Mal was appointed, who was distinguished for trustworthiness, reliability and favour with the Court. He was to see that the men came forward, and have them mustered² so that the above-mentioned two classes of men might regard him as an observer, and not indulge in sloth or cantankerousness, as is their nature, and might regard the absent (*i.e.*, Akbar) as present and perform their duties after the manner of loyal servants.

Mun‘im Khān the Khān-Khānān had reached the bank of the Tirmohinī,³ which is the junction of the rivers Ganges, Jumna

¹ The Iqbāl-nāma has Yār Ḥusain Tawācībāshī.

² *dīdan-i-shān-i-lashkar*.

³ Tirmohinī. Sarū is another name for the Gogrā. The Tirmohinī

is near Chaprā. Though called a Tirmohinī (three mouths), it seems to be really only the junction of the Gogrā and Ganges. The Jumna had already joined the Ganges at

and Sarū, when Rajah Todar Mal arrived, and energetically set to work. In a short time a large army was collected. The command of it was distributed as follows: The centre was under the Khan-Khānān; Majnun Khān, Bābā Khān and others had charge of the right wing. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Qīyā Khān, Ashraf Khān and others were in charge of the left wing. The Khan 'Ālam, Mīrzā 'Alī and others were with the vanguard. When the Rajah had mustered¹ the army, Lashkar Khān and many of the Khan-Khānān's servants crossed the river. Nizām who had a large force of Afghans, for there was a newly-constructed fort in front of the royal army, took to flight. At the same time letters came from Tengri Qulī and the force that had gone forward with him, to the effect that Lūdī had dismissed them and reconciled himself with Dāūd, and was now ready for battle and had with him a numerous army. Though this news was a little perplexing to the superficial, the eternal fortune (of Akbar) rejoiced at it and regarded it as a means of conquest. Accordingly the mystery of this singular arrangement (*manṣūba*) was afterwards revealed.

In fine the wiles of Dāūd, who was under the tuition of Qatlū and Gūjar, led Lūdī out of the road. He sent a message (to Lūdī) saying, "You are in the place of Sulaimān, if on account of 72 love to this family you have become angry with me and gone off, you have done your duty, and I am not displeased with you. In every undertaking I seek assistance from you. At this time, when the sublime armies have come against me, do you also from the excellent good-will which you have always shown, gird up the loins of energy for battle; I make over to you the army, the treasure and the park of artillery." After much talk a form of peace was, by the efforts of Gūjar, established between Dāūd and Lūdī. Dāūd soothed him and sent him in advance. After some days Lūdī in his ill-fortune came face to face with the victorious army, built a fort, and engaged in war. There were constantly fightings on the bank of the Sone, and the imperial servants were invariably successful. The brave men crossed the river and engaged in battle. One day a body of troops was sent across the river under the command

Allahabad. It was at this Tirmohinī that Khwānd Amīr finished, in

Bābar's Camp, his Ḥabību-s-siyar.

¹ *Shān-i-lashkar dīd*.

of L'al Khān and sent against Jarāndakot.¹ He acted with energy, and fourteen of the enemy's boats fell into his hands. Many of the rebels were killed, and L'al Khān's son gave up this unstable life in the service of his lord, and gained eternal fame. Just then the Afghans fell into confusion and there was a report that Lūdī Khān was killed.

The facts of this are that when Lūdī had been reassured and was carrying on the war with energy, Dāūd followed him up and arrived at the house of Jalāl Khān Gidhauriya (?).² He sent a messenger to invite Lūdī, Kālū, and Phūl, who was Lūdī's vakīl, to come and see him, as he had various things to say. Lūdī went with all confidence, and Phūl with him, but Kālū did not go, saying that the invitation had not a good odour. At first Dāūd treated Lūdī with respect. After that he retired. Qatlū and others came and were about to arrest him. Lūdī's servant who had his (Lūdī's) sword, when he saw that there was going to be treachery, aimed a blow at Qatlū, and was himself cut to pieces. Lūdī was arrested, and a disturbance arose among the Afghans. All the officers agreed that he should be put to death. Dāūd asked him what he ought to do. He replied: "Do not injure me in my dignity and honour; now that at the instigation of short-sighted men I have fallen into this evil, the proper thing for me is that I obtain repose in the privy chamber of annihilation." The wretches in their folly struck a blow at their own power by putting him and Phūl to death. It was one of the notes of God-given fortune that Lūdī should have been thus removed by the efforts of foes, when it would have been difficult to have got rid of him by a thousand plannings. Well-wishers conveyed

73 Ism'aīl, Lūdī's son, and who was very young, to the Khān-Khānan. The latter now crossed the Sone. From excessive caution, and owing to the plague of foolish prattlers, an easy task was made difficult. The killing of Lūdī had produced such a dissension among the enemy that if the imperial commanders had shown energy and resolution the work would have been finished quickly and easily. But as the disposal of this affair was reserved for a special time and

¹ Perhaps the Chanend or Cheranend of Jarrett II. 156, or is it the Kot in Sarkār Rohtas of p. 157?

² The T. A. seems to have Jalāl K. Krorī.

for the advent of H.M., there occurred caution and delay instead of alacrity. The whole army put on their cuirasses and mounted their steeds, and Rajah Todar Mal, Lashkar Khān and 'Ītimād Khān the eunuch went forward and selected a site for a camp. The ground was made over to the men and in a short time a strong fort and a deep moat were constructed. After this fashion they followed the path of vigilance and caution up to the neighbourhood of Patna.

Owing to the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh, Dāūd with such an army and equipment went off in a cowardly fashion and shut himself up in the fort of Patna. With his own foot he imprisoned himself in the furnace of destruction! The imperial army arranged the batteries and invested the town. An account of the Divine assistances, and the details of the daily-increasing fortune of H.M. were written and sent to Court. These communications led to new thanksgiving. The Shāhinshāh of horizons rejoiced mankind in Agra by princely favours and instructed them in Divine worship and in usages. He displayed wonders in the way of liberality and forgivenesses, and he also laboured strenuously for outward civilisation and spiritual advancement. Contrary to the practice of most princes of the age he paid his thanks to God by the tongue of deeds. He put foreign lands (*wilāyat*) in the same position as the Sultanate, and made the sitter in the dust and the sitter on the throne of equal consequence (*hamsang*).

One of the glorious characteristics of the Shāhinshāh, which was displayed at this time, was that when it was brought to his hearing that Saif¹ Khān Kokaltāsh, who had attained the eternal world while displaying good service and loyalty, and also Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī, who in the first expedition to Gujrat had suffered noble martyrdom, had left large debts. Gifts from the Shāhinshāh's kindness lightened the obligations of those loyalists by paying all their heavy debts, and the distressful hearts of the creditors were comforted. Lofty words and sublime laws were continually issuing from that fountain of vision, and mine of eloquence. If examples thereof were recorded by a true pen, the simple-minded would undoubtedly accuse encomiasts of exaggeration. Though the holy soul of the Shāhinshāh be not defiled by the ordinary sciences and acquired

¹ Cf. Elliot V. 370.

74 knowledge, yet as his sacred mind has received absolute light without any human intermediary or local associations, holy words come intuitively from that reservoir of abundance. Accordingly a few of those inspired utterances will be written in the conclusion of this noble volume.

Among¹ them was that at this time on a Friday he was present in the Jāma' Masjid of Fathpūr and was watching the crowd of ostensible worshippers. Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān the preacher, who had recently come from Māwara-n-nahar (Transoxiana), was discoursing. In the course of his address he spoke of the infidelity of the parents of the Prophet and spoke of them as being in danger of hell. H.M. said: "Methinks this statement is not true, for when there has been intercession for so many offenders by this means (the Prophet), how can the father and mother be excluded, and be consigned to everlasting infidelity?" The assembly applauded and paid him the homage of devotion.

One of the occurrences was the festival for the circumcision of the glorious princes. Inasmuch as the keeping alive of old customs is a strong pillar of administration, and the following in the steps of predecessors is an essential point in the management of the external world, and especially as the wearers of scarves and turbans regard Use and Wont as related to the Divine laws, and most of all because rulers search for opportunities for feasts, and make them an occasion for liberality and forgiveness, H.M. determined upon celebrating the circumcision of the princes. Able and labour-loving men were nominated to arrange this delightful reunion. The gates of liberality were opened, the materials of rejoicing were prepared, and there was a brilliant market of gifts. He gave a lofty foundation to his genius, and the veil over his disposition was removed. The intoxication which is the ornament of wisdom took possession of the solitaries who were lovers of melody. By exquisite musical cadences the calamity of melancholy departed from the disturbed brains of the partakers of the feast of love. The stomachs of the desires of those who looked for substance were filled. Those who had long yearned were successful. Joy left the private banqueting-hall and came to the public hall of audience.

¹ This passage does not occur in the Lucknow edition, nor does Akbar's remark appear in the sayings at the end of the Āīn.

Verse.

Sagacious, liberal and gentle
 An angel in the form of a man
 He spreads wide the carpet in the courtyard
 Happiness is obtained in proportion as he smiles.

On the day of Āzar 9 Ābān, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday, 25 Jumāda-al-ākhir (22 October 1573), those three holy-dispositioned ones underwent the rite of circumcision, and became nurslings adorning the garden of Hope.

Quatrain.¹

Was the petal of the red rose scattered by the wind
 Or did the rosebud draw the veil from her face?
 Nay, nay; when the fruit of the tree of desire formed, 75
 The expanded blossom dropped from the branch.

The world became pleasant to small and great. Such an occasion for expansion of the heart revealed itself to the spiritual and temporal ruler who continually used without occasion to cast treasures into the bosom of the poor and needy. The acute can imagine what sumptuous liberality was displayed! The garland-weaver of the age (Akbar) in appearance gives adornment to the creature, inwardly, he keeps close to the incomparable Divinity and his heart is embellished by the obliteration of the marks of existence.

Verse.

Good God! From his unequalled genius
 Wisdom was part of his nature.
 I do not comprehend one drop of his abundance,
 I do not see even one particle of his light.

One of the benefit-conferring and auspicious acts was his having himself weighed against precious things. Mankind were made happy by gifts and forgivenesses.

¹ The allusion seems to be to the drops of blood caused by the circumcision.

Verse.

He's a Shah whose heart holds the mighty talisman,
 Heaven's nine ¹ treasures come short of his weight.
 His sublimity is such that he cannot be weighed
 Unless, perhaps, they put two worlds in the other scale.

¹ The nine heavens. Akbar was weighed twice a year, B. 266. This was the great or solar weighment, which usually took place on the first of Ābān.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SENDING OF PRINCE SULTAN SELĪM TO SCHOOL.

The wise¹ sovereign kept his children under his own care and did not appoint any guardian to them, and was continually educating them in the most excellent manner of which there are few instances in ancient times. Their holy minds have been enlightened daily by the sciences. At this time, though that light of the garden of fortune (Selīm) was constantly acquiring various outward and inward excellences in the society of H.M. and in the Shāhinshāh's entourage, and from time to time the clarified heart of this nosegay of the spring-tide of dominion was acquiring degrees of light by the blessing of H.M.'s holy spirit and of his exalted attentions, though he learnt the rules of justice and of the cherishing of subjects and the principles of settling disputes—in which the friend and the stranger must be viewed with the same impartiality; though he acquired the secrets of the spirit and came to know the wondrous clarifications of the heart, nor was there need that that nursling of fortune should be delivered over to school and become a pupil, yet it is an old custom that far-seeing great ones should commit their capable children to the instruction of teachers adorned with outward and inward knowledge so that by seeing and hearing from them, and by their walk and conversation, their qualities may be developed, and also that by the companionship and conversation of such teachers the lessons that they have learned in the holy Presence (of their fathers) may become fixed in their minds even when such Presence is apparently absent. Another reason **76** is that by means of this service the capable men of the age may emerge from the defile of limited means and that their employment may be a means of conferring abundance and general comfort on them. Also there is hereby provided a mode of intercession for the afflicted and the criminal. For in this sublime court just as the control of mortals is based upon disciplining and chastising the rebellious and

¹ This insipid and turgid declamation is considerably shortened in the Lucknow edition.

froward, so also is the administration adorned by forgiveness and overlooking of offences. The administrators of the world have small leisure for forgiveness when they are under the influence of wrath. Hence it is that far-seeing rulers continually seek out a number of honest servants and give them authority to take the reins of power into their hand at times when wrath is in the ascendant, and enable them to save the guilty by means of making representations. For if the person be not guilty, such interceders perform a religious duty and save their master from issuing an unjust order. And if he be really guilty, yet as the foundation of man is trespass, forgetfulness,¹ and fault, there are many guilty whose offences have been washed by the waters of forgiveness, for the majesty² of man is very great, and at the time of the ebullience of wrath there is little leisure for consideration or investigation. It is an indispensable canon of rule that every master should in proportion to his position seek out for himself some servant or other person and have him by him, who may have such a position and trust that he can show courage at such critical moments, and can convey words of truth. The king of realm and religion for these purposes, and for others which the wise and far-sighted see and know, resolved that the light of the lamp of glory and the jewel of the diadem of the Caliphate, Prince Sultān Selīm, who was a pupil in the Divine school, should be made over to one of the upright-minded and be subject to his instruction. Maulānā Mīr³ Kalān Haravī, who was distinguished for his knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences, was exalted by this grand appointment. On the day of Khirdād 6 Āzar, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday, 22 Rajab⁴ (18 November 1573), there was a great feast, and the holy spirit of that pupil of the eye of sovereignty, in whom by the perfumes of the Divine aids had been implanted the preparations for lofty knowledge, began outward instruction. This shining lamp of the portico of the Caliphate was increased in brilliancy by the oil of instruction. The commencement of this great design was with the holy name of God, whereby the gates of Divine bounty were opened.

¹ Alluding to the story of Adam's forgetfulness.

² Meaning that life is very sacred and should not be lightly taken away.

³ Blochmann 540.

⁴ The Iqbāl-nāma remarks that the prince was then four years, four months and four days old.

After that he began with the letters of the alphabet,¹ which are the foundation of learning and the centre of things visible, and so was guided to the highness of wisdom. The holy ones of spirituality, and the loyal servants of the Court uttered congratulations, and a hum of prayer went up from high and low.

One of the joyful occurrences of this glorious year was the auspicious arrival of the secluded lady of the Court of Chastity, the noble dame Hājī Begam. After she had returned from the holy places (Mecca and Medina) she had, in spite of the ties of love between her and H.M., chosen Delhi as her place of abode. She had taken up her residence in the neighbourhood of the tomb of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī and devoted herself to works of charity. At this time, when the victories of Gujrāt occurred, and there were great feasts, she came on the day of Mārisfand 29 Dai, Divine month, to offer her congratulations. H.M. went out to welcome her. She was the daughter of the maternal² uncle of the mother of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī. Alāmān M. was their child. H.M. Jinnat Āshiyānī had a great respect and regard for her. I have heard the Shahinshah say: "The kindness and affection which she showed to me, and my

¹ *ḥarūf-i-abjad*. Letters of the *abjad*, i.e., letters having a numerical value, but used here to mean the ordinary alphabet.

² *دختر طغاي والدہ* *Taghāī* means maternal uncle and so the meaning here, and at II. 243, seems to be that Hājī B. was the daughter of the uncle (maternal) of Humāyūn. But possibly *wālida* is redundant, and the meaning is that she was the daughter of Humāyūn's maternal uncle, in other words, that she was Humāyūn's first cousin. This is how Blochmann has understood the relationship (465). He has *taghāī zāda-i-wālida-i-Jinnat āshiyānī* which, however, I think should still mean daughter of Humāyūn's mother's uncle. Hājī B. was the lady who was taken prisoner at Causa and who was released and

sent back to Humāyūn by Sher Shah. She showed her love for Akbar and her observance of court-etiquette by swallowing some of the medicine herself before administering it to Akbar. Miriām-makāin was uneasy, but from respect to Humāyūn was afraid to say anything to the elder wife. Presumably Humāyūn was away campaigning. Hājī B. was the daughter of Yādgār *Taghāī*, Bābar 388. She went to Mecca in the beginning of 972 (1564) and returned in 975, A.N. text II. 243 and 329. If A. F. is correct, and I have understood him properly, Hājī B. was the cousin of Māham Begam, the wife of Bābar, i.e., she was the daughter of her maternal uncle Yādgār *Taghāī*. Humāyūn then was her cousin, once removed.

love for her are beyond expression. Every one who did not know the real facts thought that she was my own mother. In my sixth year I was distracted by tooth-ache. She said she had a medicine which she had tested, and went off to get it. H.M. Miriam-makānī being a world of vigilance and caution was in an agony lest she should give me the medicine, and yet she did not venture to say anything out of respect to H.M. Jinnat Āshiyānī. So she tried to take me away to her own house, but I would not leave my attendance on the lady (Hājī Begam). Just then she brought the medicine, and as she knew what the state of feeling was, she, in her love to me swallowed some of it without there being any order to that effect, and then rubbed the medicine on my teeth. The minds of the superficial were set at rest, and also my pain was soothed."

One of the occurrences was that Saiyid Maḥmūd Khān and other Saiyids of Bārha, and Saiyid Muḥammad of Amroha and a large body of brave men, were sent to the territories of Madhūkar,¹ who was turbulent and disobedient. The Saiyids behaved courageously and brought the country into order. The turbulent men therein had their power lessened. Shortly afterwards Maḥmūd Khān died.

Also during this year Mīr Muḥsin² Riṣavī of Mashhad, who had been sent on an embassy to the Deccan at the time of the first expedition to Gujrat, brought presents from the ruler of the Deccan, and representations full of submission. The brief account of this is that when Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and a number of wretches had fled
78 to the Deccan, H.M. considered it necessary to send an able man to the ruler of the Deccan to give him good advice and guide him to the path of obedience, so that he should send the rebels to Court, or drive them away from his borders. The above-mentioned Mīr was chosen for this duty, and though Nizām-ul-mulk, the ruler of Aḥmād-nagar, had not the grace to arrest those wretches and to surrender them, yet he did this much that was good, that he did not give them a place in his territories. He also sent proper presents along with trustworthy servants and displayed loyalty. The Mīr reported to H.M. the restlessness of the men of the Deccan and their instability. They had been greatly affected by the deeds of the imperial

¹ Rajah Madhūkar Bundelā, of Undeah.

² He was a poet. Badayūnī III.

army and the recent victories, and they had conveyed their goods to the defiles of the mountains and were on the watch. But in accordance with the Shāhinshāh's principle of preferring urgent matters to ordinary ones, the conquest of the Deccan was delayed, and all his energies were devoted to the taking of the eastern provinces and the chastisement of the rebels there. And as he was in expectation that this work would be brought to a conclusion by the army, which under the command of Mun'im Khān was engaged in the siege of the fort of Patna, as has already been mentioned, he delayed action and kept himself on the alert so that if it became necessary he would go there in person.

One of the occurrences was that H.M. mounted his horse and adorned the festival of the 'Īd of the Ramzān. While in that great assemblage he heard that the cupola of purity Khawāja 'Abdu-sh-shahīd,¹ the grandson of the Defender of guidance Nāṣiru-d-dīn Khawāja 'Abdullah, who is known as Khawāja Ahrār, was present. As the righteousness and seeking after God of this Khawāja was conjectured by some, and was known to others, the Khedive of the world in this worship of God paid attention to him, and having regard to the holy man he took him out of the lower ranks (of spectators) and gave him a place near himself. God be praised! H.M. in spite of all his wealth, material and spiritual, is ever unresting in his love of God, and is ever active in endeavouring to compass His Will. The majesty of spiritual sovereignty never withholds him from this quest, how then can external glory do so? If one who by sublime fortune has become familiar with the grades of existence and Divinity and is the ruler of those two great worlds displays such wondrous works in his holy personality, what marvel is it?

¹ Blochmann 539. He was the son, by the second marriage, of Khawāja Khwājakā, the eldest son of Khawāja Ahrār. See Khazina Aṣfīyā, I. 597.

CHAPTER XV.

H.M.'s VISIT TO AJMIR.

The sovereign, from his abundant capacity and prudence, and
79 reverence, etc., attaches himself in all his undertakings, whether they
 be of a general or a special nature, to the sublime court of mono-
 theism, and he reckons as part of this duty the paying of respect to
 those associated with the families of worshippers of the Creator.
 Although those who comprehend the secrets of the visible world, or
 rather the well-disposed but superficial observers of this world, have
 come to feel assured that the daily-increasing outward majesty and
 the augmenting spiritual supremacy, and the real and apparent con-
 quest of countries, and the aggregation of exquisite corporeal and
 mental qualities are the products of the unequalled personality of this
 unique one of the court of creation, yet he from his perfect happy
 fortune, knowledge of God, and singleness of heart, casts no glance
 upon himself and recognises all such things as coming from the court
 of eternity. Accordingly, whenever an enterprise comes before him,
 he in the first place renews his devotions at God's threshold, and re-
 gards this as a dressing-up of the face of fortune. At this time it
 occurred to his inspired mind that the conquest of Behar and Bengal
 would not be accomplished by the contingent sent there, and that it
 would be necessary for the holy standards to go there. Accordingly
 he proceeded to pay his devotions, and to circumambulate the shrines.
 On the day of Ormuzd, the beginning of Isfandārmaz, Divine month,
 corresponding to Tuesday 16 Shawwāl (8 Feb. 1574), he proceeded to
 Ajmir. The first stage was in the environs of Dābar,¹ and he remained
 four days in that pleasant place. The various grades of man-
 kind obtained inward and outward joy. Khwāja 'Abdu-sh-shahīd
 formed part of the royal cortège and here took leave to go to the city.
 On the day that the royal standards halted at Toda, M. Koka arrived
 in his affection post-haste from Gujrāt, and H.M. exalted him by
 going a few steps to welcome him. He encompassed him with royal

¹ Cf. text 145. It was 4 kos from Fathpūr.

favours. On the day of Ashtād 26 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, he halted at a distance of seven kos from Ajmir. Next day, as was his custom he proceeded on foot to the glorious shrine. At the end of the day he arrived at the lofty edifice and paid his pilgrimage to it. The needy and those others attached to the shrine were enabled by the Shāhinshāh's bounty to remove the limit of abundance (*i.e.*, they received unlimited largesse.....). After paying his devotions he took up his quarters in the delightful palace, which by this time had been nearly completed. He directed his attention to **80** putting down the wicked and seditious and to the cherishing the loyal and obedient. Rai Rām Dās,¹ who was distinguished for administrative ability and moderation, was appointed to the Diwānī of the sublime Sarkār. An order was issued that the officials should as before be Rajah Todar Mal's men, so that neither should the affairs of the Diwānī suffer by the Rajah's absence, nor the writing of dismissal be applied to him, and that the confidence of service rendered might be maintained.

¹ Blochmann 483. Blochmann says Rām Dās was made Todar Mal's Naib in the 17th year. Apparently this should be the 18th year,

and it would seem that he was appointed Diwān, though Todar Mal's clerks were kept on.

CHAPTER XVI.

BEGINNING OF THE 19TH YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, *viz.*, THE
YEAR MIHR OF THE SECOND CYCLE.

At this season when the spiritual spring was in its glory, the sound of the New Year's footsteps made the external world accord with the internal. The inner world too was exalted above angelic purity and received the holiness of Divinity.

Verse.

In that sacred expanse was opened
The cell of the bud by the key of the breeze
The rose flung her cap from her head
She placed the hundred-ply ¹ cloak on her breast
The nightingales shrilled the praises of God
They turned their rosaries and parted their lips for the beautiful utterance
The rose threw perfume to the world's brain
The branch ² threw his head-dress on the rose's tablecloth.

On the day of Thursday, after the passing of one hour and forty one minutes of the 17th Zī-l-q'ada 981 of the lunar year (11 March 1574), the spiritual and physical light-increaser (the sun) cast his ray on the Sign of Aries. The dejected terrestrials and the holy celestials received fresh decoration, and the nineteenth year of the second cycle began with joy and splendour. The unique jewel of the Caliphate made a great feast at the shrine of M'uīnu-d-dīn, and there was a grand assembly.....All day and night that ocean-

¹ Alluding to the hundred-petalled rose.

² *Shākh*. A branch, also civet and the civet-cat. B. 79. But I do not understand the line. Probably *shākh* here means branch and not civet, and perhaps the *izāfat* should

be between *gul* and 'imāma, and not between *naṭ'a* and *gul*. The meaning then might be, "The branch flung on the carpet, *i.e.*, the ground, the head-dress of the rose", *i.e.*, it scattered the petals on the ground.

hearted one distributed treasures of red and white money in trays to skirt upon skirt of those present, and the general public obtained abundance. The hearts of the wishful were tranquillized.

At the time when H.M. was at Ajmer it was brought to his notice that Candar Sen, the son of Rajah Māldeo, from folly and an evil star had left the path of obedience and was in rebellion. He had strengthened the fort of Siwānah,¹ which is the strongest fort **81** in the province of Ajmer, and he looked upon it as a place of refuge in time of his adversity. H.M.'s heart, when he heard of this, felt for the subjects of that country, and he appointed Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram, Rai Rai Singh, Shimāl Khān, Kīsū Dās, son of Jaimal of Mīrtha, Jagat Rai, son of Dharm Cand, and a number of brave men to chastise the presumptuous one. In accordance with his disposition he gave them wise instructions and said: "Our threshold is an illustrious spot of grace and forgiveness, should the lamp of wisdom light up the dark soul of that wanderer in the desert of ignorance, and he feel ashamed of what he has done, you will make him hopeful of royal favours." The envoys proceeded towards the city of Sojat. Kala,² the grandson of Rai Māldeo, was holding out there, but on the approach of the imperial troops fled to Sirbārī,³ which is in the defiles of the mountains. The officers pursued him and burnt the fort, and he fled from there to the mountain of Koramba.⁴ (?) The brave troops made no difference between hill and plain (*dasht*) and followed him. When Kala saw that he was likely to be taken, he placed his hand in the skirt of supplication and by means of right-thinking men joined the victorious army. He brought along with him Kesū Dās his brother, Mohes Dās and Prithī Rāj Rāthor in order that they might enter into service. He himself obtained leave to remain behind in order that he might readjust his broken fortunes.

When this work had been advanced by celestial help and Candar Sen's security was disturbed, the officers proceeded towards

¹ Blochmann 399, n. 1. Jarrett II. 276.

² Blochmann 399 and 476.

³ Variant Siryāni. Perhaps it is the Sarwār of J. II. 273.

⁴ The Iqbāl-nāma seems to have *Koh-Korīna*, which is also a variant. Perhaps the last word is merely a jingle, or it may be connected with *kaur*, "ground full of hollows."

Siwānah.¹ Rāwal Sukhrāj, one of the followers of the rebel, was holding that place. At this time some of the servants of Rai Rai Singh proceeded, under the command of Gopāl Dās, to attack his country (of Candarsen). Candar Sen sent Sūjā and Debī Dās with some brave men to assist Rāwal, and when the army was returning after plundering some of the villages, Rāwal came with a body of troops to attack it. A battle took place, and the brave men on both sides distinguished themselves. Sūjā, Debī Dās and Mān, the brother of Rāwal, were killed in that engagement, and by God's **82** help the standards of victory were upreared. Rai Rai Singh on hearing of the engagement proceeded to the field of battle, but the Shāhinshah's fortune had prevailed before he arrived. When Rāwal had been thus defeated he turned back from his roadless way and sent his son to the victorious army. The victorious troops proceeded from there to the conquest of Siwānah. Candar Sen² did not think it advisable to remain himself in the fort, and made it over to Patāi Rathor and Patāi Baqqāl. The imperial servants addressed themselves to the siege. When the mind of the Shāhinshāh was at ease about the affairs of this province he proceeded towards the capital on the day of Amurdād 7 Farwardīn, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 23 Zī-l-q'ada (17 March 1574).

On the day of Rām 21 Farwardīn, Divine month, he reached Fathpūr, and unfolded the standards of the cherishing of subjects, the checking of oppressors, and the befriending of the oppressed, in the face of mankind.

About this time, which was the beginning of the rainy season, reports came from Mun'im Khān from the eastern provinces to the effect that the siege of Patna was being protracted. Though the

¹ There is the variant Mathra, and the Iqbāl-nāma has Mahwa or Mahatwa; query: The Mahēwah of J. II. 276?

It seems evident that Siwāna is wrong, for the troops marched there after the battle described below.

² The Rajputana Gazetteer II. 232 calls Candar Sen the second son of Maldeo, and says he was killed at the storm of Siwāna, but this fact is

not stated in the A.N. The authority for the statement is evidently Tod's Rajasthan. He seems to put the death of Candar Sen into 1584. Māldeo's eldest son was Udai Singh, commonly called the "fat Rajah," B. 429. His sister was the Jodbai who was married to Jahangir and was mother of Shāh Jahān.

combatants on both sides continued to give proof of courage, and victory was on the part of the imperial servants, yet as the river was on one side of the fort, abundant provisions reached the besieged. The fort too was well equipped, and the troops, the park of artillery, the treasure, and the abundance of elephants gave confidence to the enemy. The approach of the rainy and tempestuous season disturbed and distressed the imperial army. If H.M. came in person, the knot of difficulty would be easily untied. In the report many things were said which might act as inducements for H.M.'s expedition. Among them was the martyrdom of Kākar 'Ali Khān¹ and his son. They had one day attacked the enemy and done brave deeds and killed a number of the foe and then themselves gloriously drunk the last cup. There was also the great deed of the Khān 'Alam who had at dawn fetched a circuit and attacked at the Panjpahārī and had come to the market gate (*darwāza nakḥkhās*)² and made a bold attack and had captured great elephants and much plunder, and then returned. He had been a cause of admiration to critical spectators. There was also mention made of the coming in of Ḥasan Khān³ Batanī and of the plan of attacking the dam of the Pun-puñ, which was suggested by him.

The account of this is that Ḥasan Khān Batanī was one of the heroes of the age. By his good fortune he became separated from the enemy, and joined the victorious army. Mun'im Khān encom- 83 passed him with royal favours.

He continually encouraged the imperial servants and suggested measures for resisting the foe. Among them was his statement that two things were imperative in order that by the aid of God the knot of difficulty might be unloosed. First, the dam on the river Pun-pun must be broken down, so that at this season the waters, which had been brought there and were daily increasing, might flow into the Ganges. Otherwise the waters would come towards the fort and make the position of the besiegers difficult. Secondly, Ḥājīpūr must be freed from the possession of the enemy as most of the provisions for the fort came from there. Mun'im Khān ordered the Khān 'Ālam to take Ḥājīpūr, but he replied that he had been appointed from the

¹ Blochmann 408.

² The gate where slaves and cattle are sold.

³ Blochmann 476. Patanī in text.

Court to the vanguard of the army. On account of this contention, the project was postponed. Majnūn Khān and a number of brave men were appointed to break the dam. They went off by night and executed this service in an excellent manner. Owing to the Shāhinshāh's good fortune, Sulaimān¹ and Bābā Mankalī who were among the great officers of the enemy and who were guarding the dam were on that night sleeping the sleep of negligence. Being ashamed of their behaviour they became wanderers in the desert of ruin and went off to Ghorāghāt.

As the siege was protracted and as H.M. was already inclined to turn his rein towards the conquest of the eastern provinces, the receipt of Mun'im Khān's reports confirmed his purpose. The royal retinue therefore moved from Fathpūr to Agra, and preparations were made for the expedition. Arrangements were made for having large boats, and it was decided that H.M. the Shāhinshāh, together with the princes and a few of the ladies, and the cream of the courtiers, should proceed by boat, while the main army and the great camp should travel by land. As absences from musters² exceeded the attendances, able and zealous *sazāwals* were appointed to cause the presence of the troops. The Shāhinshāh directed his attention in Agra towards the arrangements for this expedition and considered the improvement of the world as Divine worship.

At this time the writer of this glorious record, Abul Fazl, the son of Mubārak was, in accordance with a sublime indication and mysterious message, exalted by prostrating himself at the holy Court of the Shāhinshāh. By the Divine assistance there was a beginning
84 of the cure of his self-worshipping pride. The brief account of this matter is as follows. After³ coming from the hidden chamber of the womb to the crowded inn of existence he (*i.e.* A. F.) in his fifth year attained to conventional discretion. Under the educating eye of his spiritual and physical father he in his fifteenth year became acquainted with the rational and the traditional sciences (*fanūn-i-*

¹ Blochmann 370 and 476.

² Shān. Cf. p. 71 of text, line 11. Shān should be *sān*. See Vullers II. 195*a* and Irvine, A. of M., p. 182.

³ Cf. Jarrett III. 443. It is interesting to compare A. F.'s account of his mental struggles with that

given by the Rev. Imādu-d-dīn, a convert to Christianity, in his autobiography, English translation, London, Church Missionary House, 1885. Part of this is given by Garcin de Tassy in his History of Hindustāni Literature II, 14.

hikmī-u-a'lūm-i-naqlī). Though these opened the gate of knowledge and gave him the entry to wisdom's antechamber, yet by his ill-fortune he became egotistic and self-conceited. The foot ¹ of his energy rested for a while in admiration of his own excellences, and the throng of students around him augmented his presumption. Their indiscriminate agitation and lack of judgment put into his head the thought of asceticism and retirement. Though during the day his cell was made bright by teaching science, yet at night he would take the path of the fields and approach the enthusiasts of the "Way of Search." He would implore inspiration from those treasure-holding paupers. I was kept ² in the defiles of astonished perturbation by the contrary views of the superficially learned, and by the vogue of imitative formalists. I had neither power to be silent nor strength to cry out. Though the exhortations of my honoured father kept me from the desert of madness, yet no helpful remedy reached the troubled spot of my soul. Whiles my heart was drawn towards the sages of the country of Cathay (*khittā-i-Khatā*), whiles it felt inclined towards the ascetics of Mount Lebanon (the Druses) ³ (?). Sometimes a desire for conversation with the Lamas ⁴ of Thibet broke my peace,⁵ and sometimes a sympathy with the *padres* of Portugal pulled at my skirt. Sometimes a conference with the *mubids* of Persia, and sometimes a knowledge of the secrets of the Zendavesta robbed me of

¹ The meaning is that his success lessened the spirit of self-improvement as he halted in contemplation of his own abilities and acquirements.

² Here A. F. changes to the first person.

³ Blochmann in his translation of this passage, biography of Abul Fazl, p. xii, has "the hermits of Lebanon." The words in text are *murtāzān-i-Lubnān*, and perhaps the reference is to the Noṣairis or followers of 'Alī. Cf. mention of Nosairīs in III. 271.

⁴ The text has *jogīyān*, but there is the variant *Lābhāī*, which is a corruption of *Lāmahā*.

⁵ A. F. begins his account of himself in the third person and then glides

into the first. The best comment on the passage is to be found in the third book of his letters, under the head of "*Khutbu-i-kajkāḷ buzurg*, i.e., "Discourses about the great beggar's bowl," p. 265 of Newal Kishor's lith. ed., where he gives a similar account of himself. There (p. 266) he says that contrary to the experience of most men he came to the years of discretion at five, and understood all the ordinary sciences by the time he was fifteen. He then spent ten years more in discussions and conferences. This only increased his self-conceit. But his soul turned away from the delight of teaching and the applause of his pupils, and he thought of

repose, for my soul was alienated from the society both of the sobered¹ and the (spiritually) drunken of my own land. Though the foodlessness of search was broken by the emporium (*miṣr-i-jām'a*) of outward and inward perfections, by which is meant my advantageous attendance on my honoured father, yet as that unique product of creation's workshop lived under the veil² of seclusion, there was no remedy for my distress. Owing to my own ignorance I thought that my outward³ position was incompatible with the final state (*'uqbā*), and was much disturbed in consequence, and sought to be remote from the society around me. At last fortune favoured me, and mention was made in the holy assemblage (Akbar's religious meetings) of the acquirements of this one (himself) who was bewildered in life's society. My honoured brother,⁴ my well-wishing friends, my loving relatives, and my disciples were unanimous in saying, "You should obtain the boon of serving the spiritual and temporal Khedive." I was not inclined to do this, and my atrabilious apprehensions of the social state disturbed my soul, which was inclined to solitude. For I had not opened a farseeing eye, and my genius was bent upon breaking the bonds of restraint. After the fashion of the ignorant and superficial I looked upon external circumstances as destructive of inwardness, and limitation as opposed to absoluteness. At length my father⁵ withdrew the veil and guided me to truth. He made clear to me the

pursuing a life of religious seclusion. He then goes on to describe his seven births somewhat as he does at p. 115 of A.N. III. (text). A. F. was born in the beginning of 958 A.H. or 14 January 1551, and he was introduced to Akbar for the second time in the 19th year (982) when he was in his 25th year. His first introduction occurred a few months previously.

¹ *Arbāb-i-ṣaḥū-u-iṣaḥāb-i-sakr*, "The masters of sobriety, and the lords of drunkenness," meaning the rationalists and the enthusiasts, i.e., the Sūfiṣ. Cf. Dārā Shikoh's account in the *Safīna-al-auliya* of the famous mystic Ḥusain b. Mansūr. Ḥallāj, where he calls him a *Ṣāhib-i-sakr*.

² Referring to his father's retirement from the world.

³ I think the reference is to A. F.'s position, and not to that of his father.

⁴ *Barādarān garāmī*. I think that this is a honorific plural and that the reference is only to Faḏīl, and Blochmann, p. xii, seems to have so taken it. But A. F. had other brothers than Faḏīl, though they were younger than himself, and they may be referred to here. Or the reference may be to brothers and cousins (brethren).

⁵ *Khudāī majāzī*. The visible God, i.e., his father Mubārak.

wondrous working of the authors of destiny, and withdrew from my head the hood of self-conceit. By delightful discourses in private interviews and in judicious assemblies, he impressed upon me the spiritual perfections of the sitter on the throne of fortune (Akbar). By sage expositions he made it clear that "The piety and knowledge of God possessed by this divinely born jewel are imperfectly known by any one. At this day he is the leader of the caravans both of Society and of Seclusion, the meeting of the oceans of Realm and Religion, the dawn of the lights of form and substance. The multiplicity of external associations does not withhold him from essential unity. Outwardly bound, he is inwardly free. From him comes the solution of spiritual and temporal matters." Of necessity I preferred the pleasing of him (his father) to my own desires, and as my heart's treasury, rich in spiritualities, was empty of the world's goods, I wrote a commentary on the verse of the Throne¹ as an offering to the sublime court, and I presented the writing as an excuse for my being empty-handed. The Shāhinshāh received it graciously. He cast special glances on me, and by the wealth of service which is indeed the elixir of worth, he calmed my troubled mind. Love for that holy personality took possession of my heart. At this time the expedition to the eastern provinces engaged his mind. My disposition did not permit me, the sitter in the dust, to seek association with the great ones of the court, and those who were attached to the threshold of honour had not, when engrossed by the affairs of the Sultanate, leisure to take notice of unknown and humble persons. I was debarred from entering the service. Though my old notions still lurked in my soul, yet the spiritual tie between me and that great one of realm and religion continued to bind me, and when the lord of the earth returned, after conquering the eastern provinces, to the capital of Fathpūr, he remembered me, the anchorite. I had the good fortune to kiss the threshold, and this bewildered one came to find his face on the path. A short account of this will be given in the account² of the events of that period.

¹ "Name of the 256th verse of the second chapter of the Qorān." (B. xii, note.) Badayūnī B. 168 says that people reported that this com-

mentary was really written by Mubārak.

² See text, p. 114, where A. F.'s second interview and his presentation

One of the occurrences was that Shujā'at Khān came from the Khān-Khānān and did homage. It has already been mentioned that he had been sent in charge of Qāsim 'Alī Khān to the Khān-Khānān in order that he might punish him. The Khān-Khānān returned thanks for this great favour. He treated Shujā'at with affection and respect and solicited his pardon. As it is the Shāhinshāh's nature to forgive, he granted the request and sent for Shujā'at. On the day of Amurdād 7 Khurdād, Divine month, he produced nine choice elephants from among the spoils which Khān 'Ālam had taken from the enemy. Among them was Gaj Ratn which was a magnificent elephant and was entered among the special elephants. In a short time the arrangements for the expedition were made by the personal attention of H.M. Such wonderfully fashioned boats were made under his directions as to be beyond the powers of description. There were various delightful quarters and decks, and there were gardens such as clever craftsmen could not make on land, on the boats. The bows,¹ too, of every one of those waterhouses were made in the shape of animals, so as to astonish spectators. The clerks who were employed arranged large boats for every office which is required for administrative purposes, and all the courtiers had boats suitable to their degree. There were wonderful instances of architecture, and various canopies and extraordinary decorations, etc., so that if this writer should proceed to describe them he would be thought to be exaggerating.

One of the occurrences was that H.M. the Shāhinshāh appointed Muzaffar Khān to the charge of the great camp in order to educate him and to bring him out of his seclusion. But he in his folly used improper language in regard to his acceptance of this great office and so again fell out of favour. The duty was therefore made over to M. Yūsuf ² Khān Rizavī.

of a second treatise, *viz.*, that on the chapter of victory, are described. See also Blochmann, pp. xi and xii, where this is noticed and where there is also a paraphrase of A. F.'s account of his early days. See also Jarrett III 443-5 for a more detailed account of A. F.'s early studies.

¹ See B. 279, where however the statement is that it was the sterns of the boats that were made in the shape of animals. The word in text is *sir*.

² Blochmann 346. *Firishta* mentions that he married a daughter of M. Askarī.

One of the occurrences was that as H.M. was proceeding towards the eastern provinces it came to his hearing that there was disorder in Gujrāt and that the sons of Ikhtiyār-al-Mulk had stirred up rebellion. M. Koka was distinguished by royal favours and received leave to go there.

CHAPTER XVII.

EXPEDITION OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH BY WATER TO THE
EASTERN PROVINCES.

The¹ canon of majestic sovereignty and the principles for just rulers, who have charge of spiritual and temporal affairs, require that just as contentment with their position is fitting for good subjects so that they should not be distracted by trying to grasp what they cannot get, and should not extend the foot of desire beyond their condition, so should justice-loving rulers not be satisfied with the countries of which they are in possession, but should set their hearts upon conquering other countries and regard this as a choice form of Divine worship. This is a very important point and one which the **87** far-sighted should keep before their vision. The wise and judicious who understand the spirit of the age have said that if this civilised world, which has been split up owing to the inattention of great souls, were under one able and just ruler of extensive capacity, the dust of dissension would assuredly be laid and mortals find repose. Hence it is that the Adorner of fortune's parterre in our age is continually engaged in the conquest of other countries.

When the arrangements for the expedition had taken shape, Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān who was the Vakīl of the Diwān-Khālṣa, and had full control of that department, was left in Agra. At the same time Taiyīb Khān was set aside, and Rai Bhagwān Dās was made Mustaufī² of the whole of the imperial dominions and Rai Purukhotam³ received a robe of honour and was made Bakhshī. On the day of Dībāzar 8 Tīr, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday 29 Ṣafar (15 June 1574), H.M. embarked in company with the august princes and the veiled ladies.

¹ A. F.'s defence of Akbar's restlessness and continual encroachment on the territories of others is interesting, but not convincing.

² Blochmann VI, where the

Mustaufī is said to be the deputy-Diwān. Evidently this was not Rajah Bhagwān Dās Kachawaha.

³ Blochmann 180 and 528.

Verse.

The skill of clever workmen
 Made a house to go round the world
 'Twas a wondrous device of the master-sage,
 A moving house while the inmates stood still
 All the travellers went on it
 They journeyed with it, seated, while it travelled.

The names of the renowned companions who went with H.M. on this auspicious expedition are as follows:—

1. Rajah Bhagwant Dās.
2. Rajah Mān Singh.
3. Zain Khān Koka.
4. Shahbāz Khān.
5. Ṣādiq Khān.
6. Qāsīm Khān Mīr Baḥr.
7. Rajah Bīr Bar.
8. Jalāl Khān.
9. Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān.
10. Saiyid 'Abdulla Khān.
11. Mādhū Singh.
12. Naqīb Khān.
13. Qamar Khān.
14. Mīr Sharīf.
15. Niyābat Khān.
16. Saiyid Muḥammad Khān Maujī.
17. Ḥakīm 'Aīn-al-mulk.
18. Maliku-sh-shu'arā S. Faiḏī.
19. Peshrau Khān.

Of the *Ahl s'āādat* (the learned men) there were Shaikh 'Abdu-n-nabī the Ṣadr, Ḥakīm-al-mulk, Qāzī Y'aqūb¹ and other distinguished men.

One of the wonderful things was that H.M. took along with him two mountain-like, swift-as-the-wind elephants. The first one was Bāl Sundar, who was put into one boat with two female elephants.

¹ The Iqbāl-nāma adds the name of Faiḏī.

The merits of this elephant are beyond description. Together with rank-breaking might, and strength to cast down mountains he was perfectly sedate and quiet. He showed discretion even when in the height of being *mast*. He did nothing immoderate without the hint of his driver. The other elephant was called Saman and was a fit companion for the other. He was in another boat along with two females. The spectacle was an astonishing one. The numerous boats of various kinds, the hoisting of sky-high masts, the tumult of the waves of the river, the force of the wind, the rush of the clouds and the rain, the roar of the thunder, and the flashing of the lightning produced a strange appearance. On the day of Mihr 16 Tīr, Divine month, when the fleet halted at Etawah there was a storm in the Jumna, and many of the river-houses were sunk by the waves. On the day of Rām a halt was made at Kālpī; on the day of Anīrān, the 30th Tīr, Divine month, in the village of Cakūr a wicked brahman,¹ who from excessive lust had intercourse with his own daughter, was capitally punished. On the day of Shab H.M. halted at Ilahābās (Allahabad). On the day of Ormuz, the 1st Amrdād, Divine month, when he left that pleasant station, the river was very boisterous. There blew a hurricane, and eleven boats were sunk. The orchestra too was damaged, but was saved by the Divine help. As H.M. wished that the baggage (*aghrūq*)² and the large camp should stay at Jaunpūr, Muḥasan Khān who had charge of that city in accordance with orders arranged equipages for a journey by land, but H.M. did not approve of the sacred pavilions being sent on from where he was. Near Ilahābas, Qāsim 'Alī Khān came from the Khān-Khānān and had the bliss of doing homage. He brought reports of the success of the army. On this day H.M. the Shāhinshāh remembered Husain Khān and inquired why he was not in attendance during this auspicious expedition. It was represented to him that atrabiliousness (*sauda*) had overcome him, and that he was spending his days in attacking subject-people and in plundering the peasantry. H.M. was displeased on hearing this report, but as the grand expedition was going on, he did not send anyone to chastise him. On the day of Bahman 2 Amardād, Divine month, he set up his standards in Benares. On

¹ The case is more fully described in the T.A.

² It seems especially to mean the tents of the women.

this day, too, the river was boisterous. Especially this was the case near the fort of Cunār, so that the naval authorities were alarmed. A large number of persons left the boats and came on by the dry land. H.M. put his trust in God and went on by boat with the same open brow and cheerful heart, and he sent on Sher Beg Tawācī-bāshī in a swift skiff to the Khān-Khānān to give him the news of his near approach. He remained three days in that pleasant city (Benares) and on the day of Khirdād cast anchor at the village of Godī which is a dependency of Saiyidpūr and where the river Godī¹ joins the Ganges. On that day the great camp arrived in the vicinity of the royal standards, and M. Yūsuf Khān and several officers paid their respects.

Though the Shāhinshāh was according to his custom always in appearance engrossed in the great matters of the state, yet by virtue of the principle of seclusion in the midst of society he ever kept up communion with the incomparable Deity, and never for a moment abandoned spiritual contemplation. In order to strengthen this connection and seclusion (*parda ārāī*), sweet, heart-entrancing minstrels **89** whispered in the precincts of his quarters strains of detachment and of increase in ecstasy. On many occasions of his presence Mīr Sharīf² the brother of Naqīb K. read with a beautiful³ voice about spiritual love, and H.M. emerged many a time from behind the veil and showed tender-heartedness (*riqqat mīfarmūdand*) and had wetted eyelashes. O God! this sea of wisdom and ocean of enlightenment would left fall drops of sorrow on account of the blasts of the strong gales of ignorance, and of the deviations of men! Or perhaps it was to teach softness of heart and humility to stony-hearted worldlings that this rosewater of tears was poured forth. Or from the rush of

¹ Kūdī in text. It is the Gumtī. See Jarrett II. 171, 172. Saiyidpūr is the Saidpūr of I. G., xxi, 384, and is in the Ghāzīpūr district.

² He was a son of ‘Abdul Latīf of Qasbīn, and he and his brethren were on this expedition. He was afterwards accidentally killed by his brother Naqīb while playing polo. A.N., iii, 173. Badāyūnī mentions his fine voice (ii, 230).

³ Kitāb-i-‘Ishqīya. There is the variant ‘Ishīqa, which is supported by the Iqbāl-nāma. Probably it was some special book having this title. D’Herbelot mentions two Kitāb ‘Ishqī, one being attributed to Aristotle. Possibly the work meant is the *divān* of ‘Ishqī K. See Badāyūnī iii, 277.

spiritual things he felt cramped in the gilded parlours of externality and so expressed his sorrow. Or from his wide capacity and the shorelessness of the ocean of Divine excellence he regarded his spiritual treasures as of small amount, and while possessing a mine of wisdom let trickle forth the regret of non-attainment!

Verse.¹

I call for a pilot in Noah's ark
I call for an acquaintance in a kinsman's house
I'm not Jacob, none of mine is in the well
Yet I'm wondering whom I should call (to help).

Before H.M. had left the capital, reports used to come from the Khān-Khānān and the other great officers to the effect that it would be well if H.M.'s army came as far as Jaunpūr, and that Dāūd would inevitably become a wanderer in the wilderness of ruin. The holy lips, which are interpreters of the Divine secrets, remarked thereon that such language was not good, and that the game would not be captured till the *humā* of his majesty had spread his shadow over the province, and the falcon of his might spread his wings in the atmosphere of that land. But his genius—from a regard to the education of his servants—was willing that the victory should be obtained by them. So by his order the boats were taken up the river Godī in order that they might stay for some time at Jaunpūr, and that what the officers had requested, and what the court had replied, might be impressed upon all high and low. Accordingly, on the day of Mirdād 7 Amardād, Divine month, the standards of fortune halted in the village of Bahirāj which is a dependency of the *pargana* of Karākat.² On the day of Dībāzar when they were stationed at the village of Yaḥyāpūr³, one of the dependencies of Jaunpūr, reports came from the officers to the effect that the difficult knot would be easily untied if H.M. would speedily cast his shadow over them.

¹ The verse describes one who is discontented or sorrowful in the midst of abundance.

² J. ii. 164. It is in Sarkār Jaunpūr.

³ Badayūnī 179 says it is at the junction of the Ganges and the Gumtī.

On the day of Āzar the princes and the ladies were sent to Jaunpūr by the river Godī. Ḥakīm-ul-mulk, S. Aḥmad, Ikḥlās K. and others were left in charge of them and H.M. proceeded to Patna.

Good God! The Shāhīnshāh of the age from consummate well- 90 wishing desired to magnify the work of the loyal, and the incomparable Deity willed that all great affairs and noble deeds should be accomplished by that mine of greatness, so that both his grandeur might be certified to all, and also that mercenary servants might have no claim upon him! Accordingly that easy task became difficult to the army, so that they had to ask for the royal expedition. H.M. asked for assistance from the hidden armies and addressed his mighty genius to the conquest of the countries of Bengal and Behar. At this time news came of the conquest of Bhakkar (Scinde). The secret intelligences at this time increased congratulation upon congratulation. First, there was the fact that the fort of Bhakkar, which world-conquerors could not have quickly taken, had been conquered by mediocre servants of the Khedive. Second, it was an omen for the victories of the imperial servants who had girt up their loins for the conquest of the eastern provinces.

Though able and zealous servants may exert themselves, yet the far-seeing sage knows that, as regards the unravelling of the difficulties of the world, and the attainment of great designs, the chief results are obtained by the right intentions and proper actions of world-rulers. And those who study the masterpieces of ancient times know that success does not come into the bosom without preliminary (unsuccessful) efforts. It is not till the second attempt that the object is obtained. Hence it is that the sitter on fortune's throne (Akbar) concentrates himself upon every work that he undertakes and brings to a conclusion everything that he has glanced at. This is perfectly clear to every one who knows the events of the reign. The taking of Bhakkar¹ is a conspicuous and new instance. The history of it is as follows: It has already been narrated that Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, and Mujāhid Khān had at the request of Nāhid Begam received permission to go to Tatta. Sulṭān Maḥmūd had shown hostility, but they had by virtue of mystic aid and by their energy done great deeds and engaged in the siege of Bhakkar. Sulṭān Maḥmūd

¹ B. 421.

occupied himself in defending the fort. By the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh a famine broke out in the fort and Sultān Maḥmūd from excess of caution, or from meanness and avarice distributed to his men grain that had been stored up for twenty or thirty years, though he had abundance of new supplies. The result was that there was a great deal of disease and swellings. God's anger sent a pestilence. A strange thing was when the swellings were prevalent in the country every one who boiled the bark of the *siris* tree (*acacia odoratissima*) and partook thereof recovered his health. Hence the bark was bought for its weight in gold.

- 91 When Sultān¹ Maḥmūd was nearing his end he petitioned the court, saying that he had always remained on the path of obedience and that it was his ill-fate that this distress had come upon him. Now he was presenting the fort to Sultān Selīm the noble prince. But as there was a cloud between him and Muḥibb 'Alī Khān he saw that if he made it over to him, he would only be rendered contemptible. Battles had taken place between them and he was not safe from being molested by him. He hoped that one of the servants of the court would be sent in order that he might make over the fort and district to him and might rub his forehead on the threshold of fortune. H.M. graciously accepted this petition and sent Mīr Gesū who was an old and able officer. Before he reached that country Sultān Maḥmūd had died and the garrison were waiting for him. When he arrived, Mujāhid Khān was besieging the fort of Ganjaba. Muḥibb 'Alī Khān's daughter Sām'iah Begam who was the mother of Mujāhid Khān was angry on hearing of Mīr Gesū's coming, and in her wickedness fitted out some ships against him and brought him into difficulties. The Mīr was nearly captured. Khwāja Muqīm of Herat, the father of Khwāja Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī, who had gone to that country as Amīn, by wise counsels prevailed upon Muḥibb 'Alī Khān to abstain from misplaced strife and improper commotions. When Mīr Gesū came to the fort they delivered over the keys to him. Thus did a large an extent of cultivated country come into possession. Muḥibb 'Alī Khān and Mujāhid Khān from evilness of disposition and foolish greed did not uproot their

¹ Sultan Maḥmūd died in 980. See T. Ma'sūmī, Malet 146. This message was sent shortly before his death (1572-73).

hearts from that country. At the same time it was difficult for them to remain there without the holy order. Mūhibb 'Alī Khān took the course of coming to terms, and at last Mīr Gesū settled that Mujāhid Khān should go to Patna,¹ and that Mūhibb 'Alī Khān with his wife and daughter should dwell in the town of Loharī. When the agreement had been carried out Mīr Gesū put a large force on board of boats and proceeded against Mūhibb 'Alī Khān. He could not resist, and went off to Mātīla. The assailants plundered the city (Loharī), and Sām'īah Begam fortified her house and took to fighting and resistance. For one night and a day she with supreme boldness and skill maintained her position within the four walls. When she was² at extremity Mujāhid Khān made a forced march and defeated the troops (Mīr Gesū). For three months longer he held possession of the country on this side (the east) of the river (the Indus). At length Bhakkar was conferred upon Tarson Khān. His brethren hastened to the province. Mīr Gesū in his folly wished to hold the fort (of Bhakkar), but at last was guided by auspiciousness and gave up the seditious idea. A country which, when held for some time by a stranger increases presumption, must have some quality in it **92** which carries the obedient and submissive to the extreme of turbulence. Otherwise whence this sort of men? and whence this boasting and sedition?³

Now that an abridged account of the bestowal of this mystic favour (the conquest of Bhakkar) has been given, I return to the high road of my design. On the day of Abān 10 Amardād, Divine month, the royal barges entered the Ganges from the river Gūdī, and halted at the village of Cocakpūr. M. Yūsuf Khān here joined the cortège along with the main camp. After this the army encamped opposite whatever place the royal barges anchored at. Next day H.M. mounted the elephant Mubārak-Qadam and drove it in person?⁴

¹ Blochmann 421 and the Lucknow Edition have Tatta instead of Patna. See T. M'aṣūmī, Malet 146, for an account of the delivery of the fort of Bhakkar.

² The T. M'aṣūmī, Malet 146, speaks of Sām'īah Begam's exercising great cruelty on the sick who came out of Bhakkar.

³ See for an account of Mīr Gesū's proceedings, Elliot I, 241. He was a man of violent temper, and was afterwards killed by his soldiers at Mīrtha. See *infra*, p. 414. A similar fate befel a successor of his—'Itimād Khān.

⁴ Perhaps it is only meant that he led the way.

About 500 elephants descended into the river in the wake of that tiger of the forest of war. The spectators were full of amazement. By the favour of God they were safe in those raging waters, but one elephant named Pūskā, which was about that time overflowingly *mast*, fell into the whirlpool of annihilation. While traversing the river and in the midst of the waves a large fish jumped up and rested in front of the Shāhinshāh. Soothsayers knew that this was a sign of success, and gave thanks to God. On the day of Mah, 12 Amardād, Divine month, the station of Ghāzīpur was reached.

From the day that H.M. set out on this expedition he left the boat every day and enjoyed himself in hunting deer with *citas*. It was an occupation to the superficial, and those who were attached to this department had their desires gratified. The far-seeing prince ostensibly enjoyed himself in their company, but inwardly he was immersed in the rays of worship, and was also cultivating his spiritual kingdom. Judicious spectators had in this way an opportunity of beholding in this assemblage of the decrees of fate (Akbar) the indications of final success, and so gained courage. Among these there was this, that on one occasion of the usual daily hunt in this delightful spot a deer came in sight. H.M. ordered an eager leopard swift as the wind to be loosed. By vulpine tactics the deer escaped from his claws and went off swifter than the wind. Just then a second leopard came up and disposed of him. The far-seeing mystery-knowing prince said¹ to his courtiers: "At the beginning of this sport we took from the behaviour of this leopard an omen about
93 Dāūd. It flashed upon our soul that he would not, on this occasion, become the prisoner of the claws of the kingly wrath; but that the second time he would be caught by the exertions of the hunters of fortune (*iqbāl*).” The end was as had flashed on the mirror of his enlightened heart. Accordingly an account thereof (that is, of the success against Dāūd) will come from the tongue of the pen.

On the day of Tīr, Amardād, Divine month, the boats anchored at Dāspūr, which is on the bank of the Ganges. ‘Itmād Khān, the

¹ Perhaps Akbar said this not then but at some subsequent time when surrounded by his courtiers. The story is also told in the T. A., where

the name of the particular kind of deer is given, and Akbar is represented as mentioning the omen then and there.

Khwāja sarā (eunuch) came in a swift boat from the siege, and was exalted by doing homage. He gave the news of friends and foes, and represented that the enemy was very strong. The adorning of fortune's assembly in order to gladden hearts lifted the veil of mystery and made announcement of victory. For the sake of giving confidence to the disturbed hearts of the generality he sent for Saiyid Mīrakī,¹ the son of Mir 'Abdu-l-Karīm Jafarī (diviner) of Ispahān, and bade him ascertain the result of the expedition and the character of the future. He, in accordance with the rules of the science, arranged and classified the letters and brought out this verse:—

Verse.

Akbar by auspicious fortune shall quickly
Take the country out of the hand of Dāūd.

The superficial and simple became tranquillised by this result, and the day of victory bedewed with the sweat of shame the countenances of the crafty seekers after interpretations. Also at the time when H.M. was at the capital and engaged in preparations for the expedition, the same Mīr had received orders to take an augury in order that the hearts of the superficial might be comforted, and he produced this verse:—

Verse.

Though there be a countless and victorious army
Yet conquest will come from the advent of the prince.

On the day of Gosh 14 Amardād, Divine month, while the ships were anchored at the ferry of Causa, a report of a new victory came from the Khān-Khānān. The detail of this is as follows: A body of Afghan vagabonds under the command of 'Isā Khān Niāzī, who was a distinguished soldier, fell upon the entrenchment of Qīyā Khān, and there was a great fight. The defenders behaved with valour. By the might of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, the staunchness of Qīyā Khān, and the arrival of Rajah Todar Mal, the enemy were repulsed. 'Isā Khān was killed by one of the slaves of Lashkar Khān, who did not know who he was. On hearing this good news, which

¹ Cf. Lowe 179, where Badayūnī has a good deal to say about the

soothsayer whom he calls Saiyid Mīrak Ispahānī.

was a fitting prelude to legions of victories, there was exultation in the army. H.M. in his graciousness sent the original of the Khān-
 94 Khānān's report to the princes in order that their longing hearts might be comforted. On this day the main camp which was marching by land crossed the Karmnāsa which is an affluent of the Ganges. One of the special elephants was drowned. The river is regarded as unfortunate¹ by the people of India. Next day the encampment was on the banks of the Ganges which is fed by the fountains of the bounty of God. By the efforts of those in charge the whole army passed safely over. On the day of Mihr, when H.M. was encamped at the village of Domnī, which is a dependency of Bojpūr,² a report came from Mun'im Khān. The gist of it was that H.M. should come by water and that the main camp should come by land. It also represented that from the length of the siege and the constant rains, the army was deficient in equipments, and that if the Shāhinshāh would send help from his special armoury (*qūr-i-khāṣa*) it would be useful. The request was approved and armour and weapons of various sorts were sent. On the day of Rashn 18 Amardād, Divine month, Lodīpūr was reached. On this day too the river was boisterous. One of the boats which contained the *cītas* was sunk, and of the special *cītas* Daulat Khān and Dilrang were drowned. Also the boat of the army-qāzī,³ of Bhagwān Dās the treasurer and Sher Beg,⁴ went down in the waves. On the day of Farwardīn 19 Amardād, Divine month, H.M. halted opposite the town of Maner. At this place⁵ the river Sone joins the Ganges and loses its name. Next day the boats remained there at anchor and an order was given that Ṣādiq Khān and Shahbāz Khān should cross the main camp over the Sone. A large sum of money was made over to Mīr Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Naqīb Khān, and he was sent to the glorious shrine of Shaikh Yahīā⁶ Manerī which is in Maner, to distribute it among those attached thereto and to ask for inspiration.

The Shaikh was the son of Shaikh Israel and one of the saints of Hindustan. He belonged to the Cishtī order, and also to the

¹ Jarrett ii, 151, and note 1.

² The text has Barjpūr.

³ B. 288. We learn from the 'T. A. that the Army-Qāzī (judge advocate) was named Y'āqūb.

⁴ B. 515.

⁵ Jarrett ii. 150 and note 1. The junction is now ten miles higher up.

⁶ This is Shaikh Yahīā the father of Sharafu-d-dīn. Cf. Jarrett iii. 370, where A.F. gives a short biography of Sharafu-d-dīn.

Firdūsī¹ order. Men put much reliance on the Shaikh. They say the father was extremely desirous of having a son, and went to wait upon S. Sharafu-d-dīn² of Pānīpat. The saint perceived his desire, foretold the birth of a son and bade him call him after himself. Though the Shaikh did not leave India, yet by the force of his genius he became saturated with the knowledge of the spiritual world and also fully understood the sins and deceptions of the carnal 95 spirit and then rested in firmness of soul. His words have great weight among the Sufistic sects. The Kitāb-i-ma'dan-al-ma'ānī (the book of the spiritual mine), the Ganj-i-lā īkhfā (the abiding treasure) and the Sharḥ-i-ādāb-al-murīdīn³ (the exposition of the education of disciples) are among the jewels of his pen. There are also three collections of spiritual and theological truths which he sent to some of his followers in the shape of epistles. One contains 150 letters, the second has 100 letters of advice, while the third has 25 letters. The Shaikh lived in the time of Sultan Muḥammad⁴ Tughlaq. In the beginning of his career he chose hills and deserts, and practised vigorous austerities. Afterwards he came to Delhi and paid his respects to Shaikh Nizām.⁵ At his instigation he entered the service of Shaikh Najmu-d-dīn Firdūsī.⁶

On the day of Rām 21 Amardād, Divine month, when the victorious standards were flying at Sherpūr, Rajah Todar Mal came and did homage. He reported on the state of the army. He asked for orders about the coming of Mun'im Khān as an *istiqbāl* (coming to welcome), and as to how far he should come. The order was that as the siege was going on, he should not come further than two *kos*, and that the other officers should remain at their posts in the entrenchments. On the same night the Rajah was encompassed with favours and received his dismissal. At this time 'Arab, the son of

¹ The eighth of the orders of India. Jarrett iii. 354 and 356.

² Jarrett iii. 368.

³ A. F. refers to this work in the beginning of the third volume of his Inshā, and it would appear that he edited the letters. Sharafu-d-dīn's writings were a favourite with Akbar. B. 48, 103, and Khazīna A. I. 291.

⁴ The text has Sultān Mahmūd, but this is obviously incorrect if Maḥmūd Ghaznavī is meant. I therefore adopt the variant, Sharafu-d-dīn died in 781 or 2 A.H., 1379-80, and M. Tughlaq I. died in 1351.

⁵ i.e., Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliya. Jarrett iii. 365.

⁶ Jarrett iii. 356.

Hāshim Khān, who had entered into service, and who as deputy¹ for his father brought reports about the events of the eastern districts, was honoured by receiving the title of Niyābat Khān.

¹ *Niyābat*. Apparently this viceregency procured him his title.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE HOLY CORTÈGE OF THE SHAHINSHAH AT
THE ENVIRONS OF PATNA, AND HIS ADDRESSING HIMSELF
TO THE TAKING OF THE CITY.

The world-conqueror chose the river route, in this season full of turbulence, and with constant rain and tempest. With a tranquil heart he halted at the desired place on the day of Bād 22, Amardād, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 15 Rabī-us-ṣānī, 3 August, 1574. At a distance of two *kos* from this station the Khān-Khānān paid his respects, accompanied by boats containing various kinds of fireworks, and gunners and cannoneers. He was distinguished by favours, and in accordance with H.M.'s signal those in charge of the pyrotechnics fired the guns. The noise, the smoke, and the concussion shook the earth, and the neighbourhood for several *parasangs* became dark as the fortunes (*lit. day*) of the enemies of domi- 96
nion. The horrific noise wound its way into the brains of the darkened foe, and their gall-bladders became as water. Their liver-less souls were upset, and there was a loud sound of the tocsin of victory. Trumpets conveyed to men the news of victory. In an auspicious moment H.M. turned his face to the shore and mounted the steed of fortune. He alighted at the quarters of the Khān-Khānān, where lofty platforms had been erected, and there he received presents of jewels and other rarities, and also distributed them. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Birlās, Qīyā Khān, Ashraf Khān, Majnūn Khān, Khān 'Ālam, and other great officers who belonged to the army, paid their respects. After them other sirdars and noted men were exalted by the bliss of prostration. Each of them was distinguished by special favours.

Next day H.M. surveyed the fort, and as he perceived that the taking of Hājīpūr would be the means of subduing it he applied his genius to this enterprise. That fort is opposite Patna, and the river Ganges which is about two *kos* broad flows between the two cities with great force and turbulence. Next day M. 'Alī 'Ālam Shāhī, Saiyid Shams Bokhārī and his sons, Rajah Gajpatī and an army of

brave men were appointed, under the command of Khān 'Ālam, to mount upon the river-traversing camels of boats, taking with them a suitable park of artillery, and to take that fort, which was a great support of sedition.

Also on this day Dāūd's ambassdor attained an interview through the intervention of the Khān-Khānān. Before the royal standards had been reared in those parts, the Khān-Khānān had sent Khāldīn Khān to Dāūd and given him good counsels: the gist of them was that the thread of affairs was still in his hand, that he should consider his position, and should look well to the might of fortune, and the daily-increasing dominion of the Shāhinshāh, and so be merciful to himself. He should not be the cause of the shedding the blood of so many men, and of the ruin of the property and honour of so many. There was a limit to the intoxicating power of the world. Why did he not come to himself, and why did he not attach himself to the saddlestraps of God-given fortune? He after much meditation, from feline treachery, sent one of his officers along with Khāldīn Khān, and made various supplications. He represented that he did not for himself approve of the title of sovereign. Lodī who
97 had brought him into this whirlpool of notions had received the punishment of his deeds. Now obedience to the Shāhinshāh had taken possession of his whole heart. Whatever extent of territory should be vouchsafed to him would be considered by him as a piece of good fortune. As owing to his youth and infatuation faults had been committed by him he could not agree to kiss the threshold until he had amended them by good service.

The wise sovereign understood his secret ambushes and answered as follows: "We, by virtue of our being the shadow of God, receive little and give much. Our forgiveness has no relish for vengeance, provided that Dāūd has, in this word-weaving, light from the torch of truth and will rub his forehead on the threshold of fortune, so that the hand of our grace may disperse the dust of destruction from the crown of his fortune. Otherwise let him do one of three things so that the lives and goods of so many thousands may not be an offering to ruin. First, let some one of his party come to our camp and be a spectator, and some one from our side go to his army and be a sentinel, so that no one on either side engage in war, and let us two come into the field of battle and fight with one another

with all the arms that he knows, so that whoever by the Divine decree, and the help of heaven, shall be the conqueror shall have the kingdom. If his courage be not equal to this, let him choose some one of his soldiers who is distinguished for valour and strength of arm, and skill in combat. We also shall send one of our strong-armed ones, whose countenance shall be decked with might, against him. These two combatants will contend in the arena. The army of whichever of them conquers shall be victorious. If in his army there be no such lion-heart, then let him choose one of his host of elephants, and we too shall produce an elephant majestic as heaven. Victory shall be on the side of whichever of them prevails." The gall-bladder of that son of an Afghan was rent by the majestic utterance of the tiger-hunter (Akbar), and his sense was destroyed. As his soul was rusted he did not grasp the bliss of obedience, and as he had no spirit he did not accept any of these just proposals !

One of the occurrences was that H.M. mounted an elephant and went to survey the height of the Panc-pahārī which is over against the fort. These are five solid¹ brick domes (mounds) (?) which ancient rulers have left as a memorial, and pahārī is the Hindī word for a little hill. That is to say, there are five mounds (*gūmbaz*) which resemble in height five hillocks. The black-hearted Afghans in their shamelessness and wickedness discharged cannon (at Akbar) and so worked their own eternal ruin. H.M. the Shāhinshāh was in the fort of 98 the divine protection and contemplated the wonders of creation. Friends and strangers recognised that he was guarded by God, and were impressed by the amount of his reliance upon Him.

One of the fortunate events was the falling into possession of Hājīpūr. The brief account of this is as follows: On the day of Arād 25 Amardād, Divine month, at breakfast-time, it appeared that the ocean of battle was in agitation in the direction of Hājīpur. The far-seeing prince went to the battery of Shāham Khān, from where Hājīpūr was visible, and watched the victory of the imperial servants.

¹ If A.F.'s account is correct, the buildings were in a state of preservation at that time. There are only mounds of earth and brick now.

Excavations have recently been made there under the superintendence of Dr. Waddell.

Though the efforts of the heroes could not be fully made out, yet so much was clear that the flames of war were blazing. While the result was in the balance, and a watch of the day remained, H.M. the Shāhinshāh sent some experienced troops in war-boats to help the army. The garrison of Patna on seeing this placed some *ghrābs* (boats) on the route and prepared for battle. The imperial troops by God's help defeated them, and before they reached the besiegers the fort had been taken. The majesty of the Shāhinshāh's might turned to water the gall-bladders of the men of iron courage, and a large number of the wretches were slain.

The account of this is as follows: When the Khān 'Ālam was honoured by this service, a number of boatmen became his guides. At the end of the day of Dīn 24 Amardād, Divine month, he embarked, and his guides took him up stream and at night brought him, in such manner that the enemy did not know of it, into the channel which separates from the Ganges and flows close by Hājīpur. The presumptuous garrison fell into the whirlpool of anxiety but were compelled to fit out boats carrying guns. At first they fired guns and culverins. There was a tempest of fire, and it seemed to the spectators as if the garrison would have the best of it. Just then the ships¹ (*ghrābhā*) of the Shāhinshāh, which carried victory with them, cast a ray of conquest. At once the firmness of the wicked gave way. But, as owing to the force of the current, it was difficult for the boats to come up, the enemy could not be disposed of. Guides took the boats up towards the Gandak and then brought them to Hājīpur. Though there was a rain of cannon (balls) from 99 the top of the fort, yet what could the evil imaginings of the motes of contingent existence do against the Divine aid which was supporting dominion? The warriors came out of the boats and entered the arena. Fath Khān the son of Ghāzī Khān, Ibrāhīm Khān and Ilhadiyah Sarwālī, who were the sirdars of the garrison, barricaded² the lane of access and made a hot resistance. Fath Khān and many of the enemy fell in that fight, and many escaped as quickly as possible from that whirlpool of destruction. Sundry vagabonds set

¹ Apparently this means that the boats sent by Akbar came in sight and that the enemy's fleet thereupon fled.

² Perhaps Ghāzī Khān Tannūrī. ³ *Kocaband kardā*.

fire to the city and plundered it. By the help of the mystic hosts the fort came into the possession of the imperial servants. Rajah Gajpatī, Piyāda Rawān (?), the ¹ gladiator, and M. 'Ali Beg ² 'Alamshāhī, and Saiyid Shamsu-d-dīn Bokhārī with his sons rendered valuable help to the Khān 'Ālm in this battle. All the heroes exerted themselves, and by celestial help a difficult task ended by becoming easy.

¹ Shamsherbāz. B. 252.

² B. 482.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CAPTURE OF THE FORT OF PATNA, THE FLIGHT OF
DĀŪD, AND H.M.'S FLYING MARCH.

As the parterre-deckers of the new spring of existence had been continually, from the first break of the dawn of fortune till the present day, which is the beginning of the blooming morn of auspiciousness, rearing this fortunate nursling, and dressing the garden of his dominion, every rosebush of hope which sheltered itself under the shade of that celestial tree was ever irrigated by the streams of delight, and day by day its branches obtained the fruit of their desires. On the other hand, every sour and crooked growth which was rampant, and scattered thorns in the path of the flower-gatherers in this garden where Spring always reigned, was consumed by the lightning of destruction. Everyone who fastened himself to the cords of this glorious threshold obtained deliverance from the accidents of the age, and prospered day by day. Every one who from want of understanding, or from infatuation, indulged in thoughts of opposition was trodden down. Worldly wealth helped him not, nor did outward helpers profit him. Every enterprise that the sublime genius of the Shāhinshāh engaged in was accomplished with the greatest ease, however difficult it might appear to ordinary eyes. Accordingly, a few instances out of many have been shown, and will yet be shown in this noble record. Verily, these doings are of Grace and not manufactured. They are Fortune and not contrivance. A fresh instance appertaining to the personality of the Shāhinshāh is the flight of Dāūd without a battle, and the taking of the fort of Patna.

100 When the Divine glory from the crescent moon of the standards of fortune shone upon that country, the Afghans' presumption began to totter, and in their confusion they chose the path of error. When the Shāhinshāh's messages, which turned to water the courage of the iron-hearted, reached them, and when at about the same time the heroes conquered Hājīpūr, Dāūd, who was exhilarated by the wine of thoughtlessness, came to his senses, and began to consider

his situation. No light remained in the lamp of his contrivance, and the candle of his heart gave no illumination. In his ill-fatedness he left the path of auspiciousness, and at a time when he should have come shamefaced to kiss the threshold he went off to the desert of destruction. On the night of Ārād 25 Amardād, Divine month, he left by the wicket gate of the fort and embarked in a swift boat and proceeded to Bengal. Gūjar Khān, who was their chief swordsman, went off by the gate of the Deer-park (Āhūkhāna) with all the elephants and soldiers and fled by land. The pride and presumption of this crew were at once blown to the winds. They regarded their safety as consisting in ¹ flight, and some lost their lives in the waves of the river; many perished in the intricacies of the roads, and others sank in the depths of the moat. Many perished from not being able to distinguish boat from water. Many were lost with their boats from making no distinction between a crowd and a small number (*i e.*, from overcrowding). Many were trodden under foot in the press. The transit was closed to those behind. Heads, which were homes of folly, rubbed the feet of baseness, and haughty diadems (*afsarhā*) were fastened to the halters (*afsār*) of camels and mules. A number in fear of their lives regarded height and depth as alike and turned from the zenith of the Pleiades, (*ṣuraiya*) to the dust (*ṣara*). The fort-moat was filled with various classes of beings (*viz.*, men and animals), and a large number of Gūjar's comrades were drowned. A number rashly threw themselves into a whirlpool of evils and were destroyed. On that night, which was linked with a victorious morning, there was great commotion in the fort. A number of inexperienced and intellectually deficient persons thought there was going to be a night-sally, but the skilful felt certain that the Afghans were in confusion and about to run away. At this same time H.M. called for Bāl Sundar which was conspicuous among many thousand elephants for beauty, good temper, height, swiftness, etc., and mounted him.

When H.M. became aware that the enemy was in flight he wished to make an expedition in the self-same dark night. The Khān-Khānān kissed the ground with the lip of respect and petitioned, saying, that H.M. should set out when the standard of light should be unfurled from the Eastern quarter. This would be in accord with

¹ The text has *fasād*, but I adopt the variant *farār*.

the rules of prudence, and also would admit of the condition of the
 101 enemy's being fully ascertained. The wise prince approved of his
 representation, and accepted it. On the morning of the day of
Ishhtād 26 Amardād, Divine month, the victorious standards entered
 the city of Patna by the Delhi gate. The great officers and others
 offered up congratulations. Abundant booty in money and goods,
 and especially noted elephants, came into the hands of the imperial
 servants. Two astronomical hours of the day were spent in arrang-
 ing the affairs of the city, and then the Khān-Khānān and many able
 servants were appointed to bring on slowly the main army. H.M.
 himself mounted Nūrbaiẓā (white-light), which was at the head of the
 special horses, and went off post with an army of loyal heroes, so that
 if Dāūd had hurried off towards destruction by the way of the
 river, he might catch Gūjar who had taken the flower of the ele-
 phants along with him. When they came to the river Pun-Pun, its
 waters were greatly agitated, but the Khedive of the world relied
 upon God and put his horse into the stream. His devoted followers
 also plunged into the waves, and by good fortune the sublime retinue
 crossed over. The dust of injury did not touch the skirt of those
 who belonged to this select station of the field of trust in God. The
 miraculous power of the King displayed itself, and there was the
 note of sanctity, for the sovereign and his whole army crossed in
 ease and comfort the river, while many of the swift enemy, with all
 their knowledge of the entries and exits, had not been able to make
 a passage for themselves to the shore of safety. H.M. went on
 rapidly to Daryāpūr which is about thirty *kos* distant. He made
 one march of it and then drew rein. As it was evening he halted
 on the bank of the Ganges. Majnūn Khān, Shāhbāz Khān and other
 active officers were sent in pursuit of the defeated troops. As the
 pen of fate had not decreed their capture, they did not come up
 with them. But many of that ill-fated crew went to their death in
 the rivulets and in the mud. In that victory, which may be
 regarded as the broidery of great victories, 265 elephants were part
 of the booty. If I were to detail the marvels of those mountain-
 like animals, this noble record, which is adorned with conciseness,
 would not contain the account. On this night, and while the royal
 standards were placed on the bank of the Ganges, many Afghan
 boats full of goods were carried by the wind towards the camp, and

immense plunder came into the possession of the warriors. On that fortunate day the general public of the camp-market gathered from the hollow of the moat, the river Pun-Pun, from a stream seven or eight *kos* from Daryāpūr, and from the bank of the Ganges purses **102** of gold and articles of armour. The common people of this great army gained their wishes. By the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh, such a well-equipped army which had been the cause of much foolish boasting on the part of Dāūd had the dust of destruction thrown on its head without a battle. Their secular and spiritual reputation was destroyed. Husain, the son of Ādilī,¹ who from his bad fate and darkened understanding had fled and joined the enemy, was made prisoner, and at the instance of the Khān-Khānān was put to death. By the shining of heavenly lights and the aid of spiritual hosts such a great victory, which even the far-sighted among the exoteric regarded as difficult, was displayed. It was all accomplished with ease in the time of the rains, which the enemy had regarded as their strong fortress.

When the Khān-Khānān arrived with the main army, a chamber was prepared, and there was a private assemblage, and a council was held. The various officers submitted their opinions. One set of them, whose vision did not extend beyond the surface of things, represented that until the end of the rains, Bihar, which had been newly acquired, should be cleared of the rubbish of opposition, and that H.M. should address himself to the conquest of Bengal at the time of the rising of Canopus. A large body of those officers who were prompt and courageous and skilful represented that Bengal should be attacked without delay, and that the enemy should not be given time to recuperate themselves. H.M. approved of this opinion and addressed himself to the conquest of Bengal. Though in his heart he wished to undertake in person the loosing of this difficult knot, yet as the balance of action was held in the hand of reason he regarded the orders of King Wisdom as the orders of God, and so adopted postponement. For the felicitous sages who have from their height of vision beheld the rose-garden of direction have decided that no service which can be performed by officers of **103** the lower class should be entrusted to those of the middle class, nor any which can be disposed of by the latter, be entrusted to the

¹ The last Afghan king of Delhi.

great officers. And what the latter can do should not be entrusted to the sons and relatives. And an enterprise which can be accomplished by those adorners of dominion should not be undertaken by himself, for he should conserve his own position which is one of the greatest gifts of God. For the maintenance of outward conditions, which is connected with discrimination, and the preservation of dignity and majesty, is in reality the guarding of the Divine gifts, and the praising of God by action. Good God! What eyes and what anxieties must belong to the far-sighted ones of actuality and to those who pay their devotions by deeds! This very conservation of dignity, and this trouble about glory are the worst qualities in the class of anchorites and ascetics, and the highest form of worship among the workers who have to do with social life! It was from the observance of this same lofty view that this victorious expedition was in the beginning kept under the veil of postponement, but as the officers were without genius, and as they begged for the presence of H.M., he was obliged to consider them and to take the field in person. Now that great victories had revealed themselves, and that the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh had again rubbed the rust off the superficial, and that the courage of the officers was increasing, that their intellects were becoming more exalted, and that they were becoming fond of work, Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān took responsibility upon himself and asked to be entrusted with the service. His prayer was granted, and he was encompassed with princely favours. Many great officers, and other officials and cavaliers and an army of more than 20,000 men together with large equipments were sent with him. And in order to soothe him and to assist him in his work he was given a jāgīr in Bihār. Jaunpūr was included in the exchequer (*Khālṣa-i-sharīfa*) lands. Razavī¹ Khān obtained the viziership of it, and Rajah Todar Mal, who was capable and trustworthy, was presented with a standard and drum. He too was the recipient of boundless favours and went with the army. So also were all the servants, who were nominated to this army, given high offices and jāgīrs and lofty rank. Valuable instructions too were given to them, which might be honest companions to them in times of success and prosperity, and prevent

¹ B. 438. A. F. says, later, that his misconduct was one of the causes of

the Bengal Mutiny. He was Selīma Begam's Atka (Bayāzīd 91a).

them from becoming in the end intoxicated thereby, or from breaking the thread of the perception of their duty. Thus, as their outward rank was enhanced, so did he increase their spiritual condition.

On the day of Ormazd 1 Shahrīyūr, Divine month, the Khān- 104
Khānān was sent off to Bengal, and H.M. returned to Jaunpūr where were the fortunate sons, and the chaste ladies. The chief officers who were sent to conquer Bengal were as follows:—

LIST.¹

1. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās.
2. Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl.
3. Qiyā Khān.
4. Āshraf Khān.
5. Khān 'Ālam.
6. Shāham Khān.
7. Bāqī Khān.
8. Rajah Todar Mal.
9. Lashkar Khān.
10. Bābā Khān.
11. Haidar Khān.
12. Mīrzā Qulī Khān.
13. L'āl Khān.
14. Payinda Muḥammad Khān.
15. M'uīn Khān.
16. Hājī Yūsuf Khān.
17. Naqīb Khān.
18. Ghāzī Khān Qazwīnī.
19. Mīrzā 'Alī 'Ālamshāhī.
20. Sāniḥ 'Āqīl.
21. Wazīr Jamīl.

On that day the camp was pitched at the town of Ghīāspūr on the bank of the Ganges. H.M. halted there four days. Part of the

¹ The text makes 3 and 4 one man, and also unites Nos. 18 and 19. The Lucknow edition omits No. 19. This man is probably the cousin of the

Naqīb Khān mentioned by Blochmann 449, and who may be the No. 155 of Blochmann.

time was spent in reviewing Dāūd's elephants. M. Yūsuf Khān was directed, as formerly, to take charge of the main camp and proceed by land. On the night of Isfandārmuz 5 Shahrīyūr, Divine month, H.M. mounted an elephant and marched off. On the day of Khirdād he reached the environs of the pleasant city of Daryāpūr. There he engaged in the pastime of elephant-fights, using for this the elephants of Dāūd.

As according to the religion of sovereignty and the canons of world-conquest, contentment (or moderation) in regard to the subjugation of countries is blameworthy and disapproved of, just as covetousness is in ascetics, he addressed his energies to the taking of the fort of Rohtās.¹ This fort has no equal for strength and solidity. There are several villages (*dih*) on its plateau, and there are various kinds of cultivation, and these yield sufficient provisions for the garrison. There are abundant springs of good water, and though the fort is on the top of a hill which neighbours the sky, and on the sides of which well-water is found at a great depth, yet inside the fort sweet water pours out on a little digging. Haibat Khān Karārānī and his son Bahādur Khān had strengthened the fort, and then gone to sleep in insouciance. Farhat Khān was nominated for this enterprise, and Moẓaffar Khān, who on the day when the Bengal officers went off had in a shamefaced manner joined the main camp and had not had the bliss of doing homage, was appointed to accompany him. His pride and vanity were cured in this way. Hājī Khān Sīstānī, Fath Khān Maīdānī, Khudādād Barlās, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khwāfī, Bāqī Khān Kūlābī and other warlike men were appointed to assist him. This army was sent off after it had received salutary counsels.

- 105 When H.M. was relieved of this business he on the day of Mirdād 7 Shahrīyūr, Divine month, left Patna and encamped in the territory of Sherpūr. On that day M. Yūsuf Khān who had conducted the main camp by land was made blissful by the Shāhinshāh's advent. Next day the camp reached Fathpūr-Patna which is a distance of 21 kos. On that day the Sone, which was in flood, was crossed and Šādiq Khān was given leave in order that he too might join the main camp, and might take special precautions that the

¹ Cf. Jarrett II, 152,

common people of the camp, and the household officers and especially the select (*khāṣa*) elephants should cross the river in a proper place. On the day of Āzar 9 Shahrīyūr, Divine month, H.M. made a forced march and at the end of the day arrived at the Causa ferry. The Ganges was very broad and deep and its commotion was enough to frighten the brave. Under God's protection H.M. passed over, and left Mīr Khān Yesāwal and a number of capable and active men to assist in ferrying across the river. The cavalier of fortune went on so rapidly that many swift-goers were left behind. With a few fortunate companions of lightning-like speed he reached Jaunpūr on the day of Ābān 10 Shahrīyūr, Divine month. Men shouted for joy on beholding him so that their rejoicing reached the ears of the holy angels. The princes paid their respects, and the veiled ladies attended and partook of joy. The servants of the holy threshold and the officers of the province performed the *siḍa* and contributed the brightness of two worlds. The world received the glory of springtime, and mortals got fresh life. H.M. was gracious to every one and gave his attention to the affairs of state and opened the gates of justice in the face of mankind. As thoughtfulness and prudence are the pillars of dominion H.M. remained in that city until the imperial servants had satisfactorily cleansed Bihār of the dust of the seditious. By his assistance the army which had gone towards Bengal had its wants provided for, and the conquest of that country speedily insured.

One of the occurrences was that Qāsim Khān, whom they called Kāsū, Maḥmūd Khān and a number of evil-disposed Afghans came to the borders of Bihar. The Khedive of the world sent off Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān, Shāh Ghāzī Khān of Tabrīz and many brave men, and an order was given that Muḥsin Khān and other fief-holders in that country should assemble and should gird up their loins for the quieting of the province. When the abovementioned had received the order they ascended by the ladder of good service to the upper chamber of honour, while the disaffected were cast down into the pit of ruin. The dust of rebellion was entirely laid. 106

One of the occurrences was that it was brought to the august hearing that Khān 'Ālam in reliance on the royal favour and clemency had come to court without obtaining a written permission from the Khān-Khānān. As the observance of orders is a necessary part

of rule a rebuke was issued by the Shahinshah and he was ordered off. A number of right-thinking and adroitly-speaking persons represented that he had left his family in the camp, and that for urgent business he had come rapidly and humbly to court. H.M. received their explanations and allowed him an interview. He gained his wish and had permission to return.

Among the events which conveyed advice to the superficial and which augmented the enlightenment of the esoteric were H.M.'s teachings about the Divine mercy. The brief account of this instructive story is that for some time there had, by heaven's decree, failed to be a bountiful rain for the crops. The cultivators and the public in general were afraid of a famine and came with lamentations, and with one heart and tongue implored the Unique one of creation, who unites sanctity and inward splendour, that he would call upon the Almighty to open the doors of compassion so that by the intervention of his chosen intercession good might be bestowed upon mortals, and the knot of their difficulty loosed.

Verse.

Thou hast the power of fastening, O Eternal Wisdom.
Loose the knot from the fortune of Thy creatures.

The holy lips uttered, "Asking and praying belong to the external world. The beneficent Creator knows everything and it is written upon the tablet of fate before a wish is expressed. Apparently, the reason why saints have had recourse to prayer is that those who slumber in the dark night of ignorance may be awakened and enter on the path of submission which is the adornment of worship, and the material of bliss.

"The divine goodness towards His servants is greater than that His mercy should depend upon our appeals to Him, or upon our calling His attention to the matter, or that we should teach Him graciousness."

Verse.

Wilt thou teach God the path of mercy?

Just while this Divine wisdom was trickling from that reservoir
107 of the pearls of truth, the clouds of mercy appeared and there was

abundant and continuous rain for a week. The sown fields and the meadows became verdant and full of moisture. The thirsty-hearted were satiated, and the weak-souled gained conviction and certitude. They came to know the sublime rank of the Shāhinshāh and increased their worship and devotion.

One of the occurrences of this time was the censure passed upon Şādiq Khān. The brief account of this is that M. Yūsuf Khān and Şādiq Khān who had charge of the great camp, came on the day of Ābān 10 Mihr, Divine month, and it transpired that the special elephant Lāl Khān had been drowned at the Causa ferry. Şādiq Khān who had not used great care and intense exertion in crossing the elephants, fell out of the royal favour, and his fief was confiscated. He was not allowed to perform the *kornish* and was dismissed to Tatta, and an order was passed that until he produced a choice elephant which might compare with that incomparable one he would not be exalted by the performance of the *kornish*.

CHAPTER XX.

DEPARTURE OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S CORTÈGE FOR THE CAPITAL,
AND THE ARRIVAL ON THE WAY OF THE NEWS OF THE
VICTORY OF BENGAL.

When the world-adorning mind of the Shāhinshāh had disposed of the affairs of this country, and had resolved upon proceeding to Fathpūr the capital, he on the day of Māh 12 Mihr, Divine month (about 22nd September, 1574), moved from Jaunpūr at an auspicious hour. He encamped at the village of Khānpūr,¹ and he remained there in spite of his having scented victory, in order that he might quiet the minds of many of his servants who, on account of their superficiality, were in an anxious condition, and were wondering how the eastern officers were faring. Suddenly there arrived the good news of the victory of the Bengal army. Everybody recovered confidence, and the insight of the world's lord was impressed upon their hearts. The brief account is as follows: When the army went off to conquer Bengal, the first town to be taken was Sūrajgarh. Afghans could not withstand the victorious troops and fled without a battle. After that Monghyr was taken. Rajah² Sangrām the zamīndār of Kharakpūr, and Pūran Mal the rajah of Gīdhor³ and many landholders of that part of the country bound themselves to the saddlestraps of eternal dominion. The Khān Khānān ably conveyed in such a rainy season a large army by land and water, and acted with prudence as well as success. As the

108 genius of the Shāhinshāh was guiding the troops, they were victorious wherever they came, Bhāgalpūr, Colgong (Khalganw) which was a rendezvous of the Afghans, came into possession without a battle.

When the army reached the village of Gūna⁴ it became known that Ism'āil Khān Silahdār, whom Dāūd in his folly had styled Khān-

¹ Jarrett II. 163.

² Blochmann 446 and n. 1.

³ Blochmann 479 n. 3 and Jarrett II. 154.

⁴ Kozrah of Jarrett II. 155P Or is it the Gūnasagar mentioned by Buchanan in his MS. account of Telia-gharī? It is kūnc or konch in text.

Khānān, had strengthened that fort and was there with a large force. What increased the difficulty was that the country from the army's halting-place to Gadhī was under water. This would impede the encamping of the army. Let it not be concealed that Gadhī is the gate of Bengal. On one side is a sky-ascending mountain which is difficult to be surmounted on foot, and so there is no question of its being practicable for cavalry. From the side of this mountain several rivers join the Ganges and are torrential. Among them is a strong fort which was founded by the rulers of the country. A general council was held at this stage and the wise and experienced deliberated on what remedy should be chosen. All agreed that the problem demanded solution at this stage. The landholders of the country represented that there was a secret path through the territory of the Telī Rajah.¹ Although laden animals could not pass by that ravine (garīwa) yet light horsemen could do so with ease. The proper course would be for the main army to set itself to take Gadhī and to proceed thither by the high road (shāhrāh) while some bold warriors should go by the path.

Certainly the enemy would by this means come to waver and would take to flight. Accordingly Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl with a force

¹ Tiblī in text, and there is the variant nīlī, but clearly the word is Telī, being the name of the Rajah or his caste who held Gadhī before the conquest by the Muḥammadans. See Jarrett II. 116 and n. 1, and the Buchanan MS. I.O. vol. for Bhagalpur, p. 230. An extract from Buchanan's account of Teliaghhrī was given by me in the National Magazine (Calcutta) for January, 1894, p. 2. The Rajah belonged to the oilman caste. Buchanan says *l. c.* in his account of thāna Faiz-ullaganj in the Bhagalpur volume that he saw the ruins of a fort called Dharhara. The local tradition was that it belonged to a Khetauri Rajah called Gaurmardan who had a very clever daughter named Bidya-Bilās.

She resolved not to marry any one who was not more learned than herself. At last a mendicant answered her questions and married her. But not long afterwards he and all the other inhabitants were killed by Kālī except one oilman to whom the goddess gave the property. Buchanan also mentions a deep tank in the neighbourhood known as Gūnāsāgar. See also I.G. article Teliagarhī. The Siyaru-l-mutākharīn has a note by the translator about Garhī, which tells how the fort was turned by the Mahrattas in 1740. Mīr Jamla had done the same thing in the previous century, and now we learn from A. F. that the pass was circumvented in the 16th century.

of heroes was sent by the path, and Qīyā Khān with a number of noted warriors was sent towards Gadhī. The other leaders were about to march when the prestige of the Shāhinshāh discomfited the foe. First a body of troops from the army of the Khān-Khānān made some commotion and inspired the enemy with fear, and when Qīyā Khān arrived at the place with a well-equipped force the thread of their plans was at once broken, and they fled in confusion. Thus, a place such that it could hardly have been gained by fighting came, by the Divine aid, easily into possession. Next morning after that day which was the emergence of the lights of fortune, the Khān-Khānān came and returned thanks to God. Majnūn Khān traversed the ravine and arrived the same day. The zamindars had acted with proper loyalty, and if the Afghans had esconced themselves in the fort they would have been dislodged by this force. But by God's favour a difficult task became easy without its assistance. On receiving the news of this victory H.M. ordered thanksgivings to God, and threw wide the halls of joy.

One of the occurrences was that at this station Ghāzi¹ Khān
 109 Badakhshī, who had in Kabul donned the pilgrim's dress, came out and did obeisance. He ascended from the (*girīwa*) ravine of exoteric knowledge and came to the rose-bower of Truth, and had a scent of the flowers of fragrance. By the blessing of the holy attentions of the Shāhinshāh, and the felicity of becoming disciples of that Khedive of enlightenment, many emerged from the defiles of the path of Divine worship and attained to the upper chamber of verity. Fīrūza² Khāṣ Khēl, who was a special favourite of M. Hakīm, and a number of others came from that country and rubbed the face of ashamedness on the threshold of fortune with the idea of entering the holy service. Every one of them was so fortunate as to receive proofs of the Shāhinshāh's graciousness above their merit. From thence H.M. proceeded on towards the capital. He passed from stage to stage, occupied in appearance with the service of administering justice, and the enjoyment of hunting, while in reality he was perpending the Divine mysteries, and imparting to society the gifts of seclusion. On the day of Dībādīn 23 Mihr, Divine month, when he was encamped

¹ Blochmann 440. He introduced the *sijda*.

² Blochmann 526.

at Iskandarpūr,¹ which is near Mānikpūr, a petition came from the Khān-Khānān. Its purport was that Dāūd had chosen the road of ruin and that the victorious army had arrived at Tānda the capital. The account of this Divine aid is that when Gad̥hī was taken, Dāūd could not withstand the shock of the victorious army. He took to flight and trod the desert of destruction. The river Ganges divides into two branches at Tānda.² One goes to the mart of Sāt̥gām and ends in Orissa. The other goes towards Maḥmūdābād, Fathābad, Sonārgaon and Chātgaon (Chittagong). Dāūd went off quickly by the Sāt̥gām river in the hope that he might stir up strife in the borders of Orissa. The Khān-Khānān entered the city of Tānda, which is the centre of Bengal, on the day of Gosh 14 Mihr, Divine month, and addressed himself to the spreading of the laws of justice which had been communicated to him from the court. The words of the world-cherishing prince came into operation. The Divine graciousness increased daily. The tongue of words and the tongue of acts joined in calling for thanksgiving. A rescript issued to the Khān-Khānān, and he was praised for his good services. H.M. then proceeded on from that place (Iskandarpūr) under the veil of the pleasure of hunting, with a heart of thanksgiving and with outward joy.

One of the occurrences of this time was the death of Khwāja Jahān. He, on account of illness, was in Jaunpūr, and by heaven's decree a *mast* elephant ran at him. His foot caught in a tent-rope and he fell. This ruined his health, and the cup of his life became full near Lucknow.³ Fortunate was he in that the cup of his life ran over in the presence of his benefactor, and that he ended his days in good service, and fidelity, and in seeking to do his pleasure. On the 110 day of Ardī Bihisht 3 Abān, Divine month, the royal standards halted on the bank of the Ganges near Qanauj. When the august cortège

¹ Apparently the Sikandarpūr of Jarrett II. 164, and which is in Jaunpur Sarkār.

² Cf. Jarrett II. 120 where A.F. says that the division takes place at Qāzīhattah in Sarkar Bārbakābad. See l.c. 133.

³ Blochmann 424. The accident took place at Jaunpūr. Apparently he was travelling by water from Jaunpūr in company with Akbar to Lucknow when he died. The Iqbāl-nāma also says the accident was at Jaunpūr.

reached Patialī,¹ Husain Khān who in this campaign had become mentally afflicted and been debarred from the bliss of service, presented himself, but had not the good fortune to perform the kornish.² When H.M. came to the third³ stage from the capital he felt a desire to circumambulate the shrines of Delhi and Ajmere. In the early part of Abān (qu. Azar the 9th month), Divine month, he reached Delhi, and performed the duties of respect and reverence. The inhabitants of that country benefited by H.M.'s spiritual and temporal bounty.

One of the occurrences was that Husain Khān became overcome by atrabiliousness (*saudā*), and putting away the things of fortune became a qalandar. The Shāhinshāh applied the remedy of kindness, and presented him with an arrow⁴ from his special quiver in order that by help of it (*'itizād*) he might get possession of his jāgīr which had been confiscated, and that he might apply himself to the recruiting of soldiers. I laud the genius and wise capacity which are lavish of benefits in proportion to offences, and are bountiful towards the disobedient. From this pleasant stage (Delhi) he proceeded by way of Nārnol to Ajmir. At Nārnol at the hunting rendezvous, the Khān Jahān, who had put on the pilgrim-dress⁵ at Lahore,

¹ In the Etah district. It was Husain K.'s home and *jāgīr*. The text has Betālī, but the variant Patīālī, which, of course, is a quite different place from Patīāla, is right.

² See the account in Badayūnī 187 who says that Husain K. came in the neighbourhood of Patīālī and Bhongāon to do homage, but that he was not admitted, and that Shahbāz K. the Mīr Bakhshī was ordered to put him outside of the rope that ran round the audience-hall. Upon this Husain resolved to become a Qalandar, and gave away all his property. Akbar thereupon took pity upon him and sent him a shawl, an arrow, etc., but to no purpose.

³ The text has *sirmanzil*, station or place where one changes his course.

But the true reading is *sihmanzil* 2 "the third stage," as shown by the *Iqbalnāma* and also by Badayūnī 187 where for 3 cosses read three stages. The *Iqbalnāma* says Akbar left Agra on the left and went on to Delhi.

⁴ Evidently the arrow was given as a symbol of authority and as an evidence of the order in his favour. Cf. Badayūnī 188 where the statement that a quiver was given is a mistranslation. Cf. the account in Bayley's *Gujrat* 389 of Humāyūn's binding his quiver round the body of the minstrel Bacū in order that he might obtain the release of his friends.

⁵ Not to go to Mecca, but to appear before Akbar.

suddenly appeared. This was a pleasure to H.M., and he rewarded him with royal favours. Also in the neighbourhood of Nārnol, Khān A'zim M. Koka came a long journey from Gujrat on the wings of affection and did homage. He was exalted by glorious favours from the Shāhinshāh. In the beginning of Dai, Divine month, the delightful spot of Ajmīr was visited by H.M., and he circumambulated the shrine. Justice and liberality were dispensed, and night and day there were glorious festivals in that Martyr's plot. All classes of men experienced his bounty. The chief philosophers and the leading men of learning sought enlightenment from the holy words of H.M., and seekers after the spiritual and temporal kingdom gained their desires. May the world-adorning Creator long preserve his holy frame so that he may complete the defective and exalt those who are perfect in faith!

At the time when Ajmīr was blessed by the presence of H.M., Rai Rai Singh came in haste from Fort Siwāna and reported that Candar Sen, the son of Māldeo, was making a disturbance in Jodhpūr, and that the army which had gone to take Siwāna had not been able to put him down. If an army of the combatants of fortune were sent against him, things would have a happy termination. His representa- **111**
tion was approved of, and he was treated with favour and sent back to his work. Taiyīb Khān, Saiyid Beg Toqbāī, Subhān Qulī Turk Kharram, 'Aẓmat Khān, Sewa Dās, and many able servants were sent against Candar Sen. That ill-fated one withdrew from Rāmpūr to the steep mountains. The victorious army, knowing that the daily-increasing fortune of the world's Khedive made difficulties easy, proceeded to the hill-country. They were partially successful, and many of the guilty were trodden under foot. The wretch (Candar) could not withstand them and became a vagabond in the desert of destruction. The *ghāzīs* from inexperience and shortsightedness regarded his flight as the end of the task and returned to court without being summoned. When H.M. heard of this, he, in order to give a lesson in the laws of service, degraded those astrayed ones from the position of trust.

In a short time H.M. had disposed of the affairs of that part of the country, and on the day of Rām 21 Dai, Divine month, he distinguished the Khān A'zim with great favours, and sent him away to manage the affairs of Gujrat. He himself proceeded towards the

capital. One of the occurrences was that for the comfort of travellers he issued an order that at every kos of the way from Agra to Ajmīr a pillar¹ (*minār*) should be set up, and be adorned with deer horns so that those who had lost their way might have a mark, and that strength might be given to the fatigued.

¹ Some of these pillars still exist. Badāyūnī is sarcastic about the benefit of them.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ARRIVAL OF H.M. AT THE CAPITAL (AND BUILDING
OF A HOUSE OF WORSHIP).

H.M. had in the course of seven months done the work of many years in conquering new countries, administering the old, in favouring the sincere and serviceable, and o'erthrowing the ungrateful, in extending justice, in general benevolence, and in advancing the science of worship. On the day of Ardībihisht (18 January 1575) 3 Bahman, Divine month, he illuminated Fathpūr by his presence.

Quatrain.

What ray is it that fortune sheds upon the earth?
 What commotion is it that dominion casts into the sky?
 Is it the dust of the cortège or the breeze of success
 Which sends a fragrance of peace and repose to the nostrils
 of my soul?

The degrees of sovereignty and the stages of world conquest, **112** which are based upon increase of wisdom, and on perception, went on augmenting, and that which is apt to become in mortals, whether in former or in present times, a source of insouciance, only increased his circumspection. Although Almighty God raised the pure-dispositioned one to lofty heights, *viz.*, to increased territory, abundance of devotees, the overthrow of enemies, the gaining possession of the wonders of the world, and the opening of the doors of knowledge, and lofty perception, yet this suppliant of Deity increased his supplications, and the thirst for inquiry augmented.

At this¹ time when the capital (Fathpūr Sikrī) was illuminated by his glorious advent, H.M. ordered that a house of worship ('Ibādatkhāna) should be built in order to the adornment of the spiritual kingdom, and that it should have four verandahs (aiwān).

¹ The order for the building of the 'Ibādatkhāna was given in Zī-lqāda 982, February-March, 1575.

Though the Divine bounty always has an open door and searches for the fit person, and the inquirer, yet as the lord of the universe, from his general benevolence, conducts his measures according to the rules of the superficial, he chose the eve of Friday,¹ which bears on its face the colouring (*ghāza*) of the announcement of auspiciousness, for the out-pouring (*ifāzat*). A general proclamation was issued that, on that night of illumination, all orders and sects of mankind—those who searched after spiritual and physical truth, and those of the common public who sought for an awakening, and the inquirers² of every sect—should assemble in the precincts of the holy edifice, and bring forward their spiritual experiences, and their degrees of knowledge of the truth in various and contradictory forms in the bridal chamber of manifestation.

Wisdom and deeds would be tested, and the essence of manhood would be exhibited. Those who were founded on truth entered the hall of acceptance, while those who were only veneered with gold went hastily to the pit of base metal. There was a feast of theology and worship. The vogue of creature-worship³ was reduced. The dust-stained ones of the pit of contempt became adorners of dominion, and the smooth-tongued, empty-headed rhetoricians lost their rank. To the delightful precincts of that mansion founded upon Truth, thousands upon thousands of inquirers from the seven climes came with heartfelt respect and waited for the advent of the *Shāhinshah*. The world's lord would, with open brow, a cheerful countenance, a capacious heart and an understanding soul, pour the limpid waters of graciousness on those thirsty-lipped ones of expectation's desert, and act as a refiner. He put them into currency, sect by sect, and tested them company by company. He got hold of every one of the miserable and dust-stained ones, and made them successful in their desires,—to say nothing of the be-cloaked⁴ and the be-turbaned. From that general assemblage H.M. selected by his far-reaching eye a chosen

¹ *Shab-i-jam'a*, which, as B. points out, 173 n. 3, means 'Thursday night, as the Muhammadans commence the day at sunset.

² Text *muhtājān* "the necessitous." L. O. M.S. 235 had this reading, but the copyist has erased it and

substituted *murtāzān*, which seems a better reading.

³ *Khalqparastī*, i.e., authority.

⁴ *lit.*, the wearers of large turbans, and the hangers-down of scarves. The Maulvis and learned doctors are meant. A. F.'s account

band from each class, and established a feast of truth. Occasionally he, in order to instruct the courtiers, sent perspicuous servants who could discriminate among men, and these reflective and keen-sighted men brought every description of person to perform the *kornish*. Then that cambist and tester of worth examined them anew and invited some of them. There were always four noble sections in that spiritual and temporal assemblage. In the eastern chamber of worship (*Ibādatkada*) were the great leaders and high officers who were conspicuous, in the courts¹ of society, for enlightenment. In the south- 113
ern compartment the keen-sighted investigators, both those who gathered the light of day (*i.e.* the Illuminati) and those who chose the repose of the night-halls of contemplation, sate in the school of instruction. In the western compartment those of lofty² lineage practised auspicious arts. In the northern compartment were the Sūfīs of clear heart who were absorbed in beatific visions. A few of felicitous and wide comprehensiveness - which they had attained to by the bliss of H.M.'s holy instructions - lighted the torch of knowledge in all four compartments. Lofty points and subtle words passed from the holy lips, and physical and Divine truths trickled from that soothsayer of the court of variety, so that the leaders of the arena of manifestation, and the swift coursers on the mountains of contemplation burned³ with shame. It is of this condition that *Zahīr*⁴ sings.

of the *Ibādatkhāna* may be compared with *Badayūnī's*, B. 170 and 171, Lowe 203, and the T. A. Elliot V. 390. *Badayūnī* states that the *Ibādatkhāna* was erected on the site of a cell once occupied by *Shaikh* 'Abdullah Niyāzī of Sarhind (for an account of whom see the *Darbār Akbarī* 81 and *Badayūnī* III. 45). The original building must surely have been much larger than what is now pointed out as the *Ibādatkhāna*.

¹ *Hijābstān-i-t'aalluq*, meaning "in social life."

² *i.e.*, the Saiyids, see Elliot V. 391. I.O. 235 has *Muhaiman parastān* "worshippers of God."

³ It is *ātish* "fire" in text, but I.O. 235, and apparently I.O. 236, has *uns* and the meaning seems to be "they associated in grief" (*i.e.*, were ashamed).

⁴ *Zahīru-dīn Faryābī*, a Persian poet, who died at Tabriz in 1201 A.D. See Browne's *Daulat Shāh*, p. 109 *et seq.* Some preferred him to *Anwarī*. The variant *ab-kār* is more poetical than the *afkār* of the text and it has the support of both the I. O. MSS. The word *m'araz* معرض might then be taken as *m'iraz* and the lines translated, "Before the robes of the daughters of his fancy, shame befalls the roses and the rose-garden."

Verse.

In the glorious assemblage of his thoughts
Shame befalls the rose and the rosarium.

A set of wisdom-hiving, judicious men were in readiness to propound questions and to record views. The difficulties of the various classes of men were fittingly resolved. The mirrors of the inquirers of the Age were polished. The whole of that night was kept alive by discussions which approved themselves to one and all. The degrees of reason and the stages of vision were tested, and all the heights and depths of intelligence were traversed, and the lamp of perception was brightened. By the blessedness of the holy examination, the real was separated from the fictitious, and the uncurrency of those who were only coated with wisdom was brought to light.

Verse.

The fictitious (*lit.*, copper-cored) Hāfiz¹ did not pass with him.
For the expert sees all the hidden faults.

The various forms of ability came from the darkness of concealment to the hall of manifestation. Rather they came from the abyss of non-existence and were resplendent on the height of existence. If I were to record in detail the illustrious events of these glorious assemblages, and describe the attainments in learning of this school of truth, a separate volume would be required.

During this spring-time of enlightenment, the writer of this noble volume presented himself a second time, and had the glory of a second birth. The brief account of the instructive story is that in the beginning of this year he brightened his forehead by performing the prostration in Agra, the capital. As he had the pride of common place knowledge in his head he delayed in proceeding to the eastern provinces in spite of the spirit of sincerity and loyalty which he had borrowed from his honoured father. Though he had not the equipment for a journey yet there was also in his idolatrous and conceited soul no aspiration for such an expedition. Also
114 there was pride in the idol-temple of his knowledge. A desire for physical retirement and for contemplating the world was seething in his soul. But he did not think it proper to traverse

¹ One who knows the Qoran by heart, also, a singer or musician.

the world without the permission of his honoured father. That mine of kindness could not bring himself to bid me adieu. At last a gracious letter came from my most excellent of brothers from the eastern provinces to the effect that the prince of the world had remembered me. As his (A. F.'s) means were insufficient, his design of entering into service was not carried out.

One of the wonderful things was that at the time when the predominance of the Afghans was bruited abroad, and there were praters in the city, one night of nights when my soul had been freed from the connections of existence, and had gone to the world of dreams, a window suddenly opened into the mystic world. The victory of the eastern provinces with all the circumstances which actually occurred, from the beginning of the siege to the time when Dāūd went to annihilation, and also the attainment, by this confused one of Creation's contingent, of the bliss of service and the degrees of favour from H. M.—which came to be realised—became visible before his astonished eyes. And in that long night, whenever he awoke from dreams, he contrary to custom immediately fell asleep again, and what was still more strange, whenever he began again to dream he commenced where he had left off. At dawn he went to his honoured father's chamber and described to him what had happened. He displayed great joy, and congratulated him. A desire to serve arose in his heart's core, and he wrote out the draft of a commentary on the beginning of the *Sūra* (chapter) of Victory in order that he might offer it as a present to the holy assembly. When the royal standards came to Ajmīr and H. M. in the banquet of wisdom again remembered this disturbed one of the desert of existence, and when by the great kindness of the (A. F.'s) noble brother this was revealed, the longing to kiss the threshold increased. All my aspiration was that I might behold for some days the world-adorning beauty of the world's lord, and then retire to the corner of obscurity and enter into a contest with myself. The sole desire of my troubled mind was that the horrid desert of hermitage might be trodden by the feet of my energy, for my heart was weary of beholding the men of my own land, and I had no inclination for society. Thousands of thoughts careered in my mind. I had not the detaching reason to enable me to dispense with plans and to make the thorn-brake

of solitude the mantle (*purnyān*) of repose, and when it chanced to me to be in that emporium, there was no gracious one to help me, and pride did not suffer me to search for an introduction (to Akbar). Nor had I a place where for a time I might burn the lamp of privacy. My brother, greater in years and in wisdom than I, guided me to his own cell (*zāwīya*), and as he was one of the feeders on spiritual food I of necessity conceived a longing for the Spiritual chief (Akbar). Next day I happened to go to the chief mosque, which is one of the grand edifices of the Shāhinshāh, and suddenly, on that great assemblage, the world's lord cast the shadow of kindness (*i.e.* Akbar came into the mosque). I had the bliss of performing the prostration from afar off. I had the sense to be entrusted with the thought "If the Shāhinshāh 115 does not see you, yet you are seeing that holy light, and if I be not favoured by a glance from the Shāhinshāh I have attained vision and understanding by beholding that holy one." In this thought I was absorbed in the contemplation of Divine power, when the appreciative sovereign cast an educating glance upon me and summoned me. Inasmuch as there were present to my mind the circumstances of the time and the nature of mankind, and there was added to the fact of my being a long way off from H. M., I regarded my sight of him as the consummation of my wishes. But at length it appeared from the glorious interest which the Shāhinshāh took in me, that my good fortune was powerful, and that the star of my destiny had emerged from its obscurity. I approached him and rubbed my forehead on the sublime threshold. On one occasion he accosted me in that assemblage of realm and religion, where hundreds of thousands of sects and schools were gathered together, and described my condition beyond what I myself was conscious of, to the special guests at the sacred festival. Many lassoes fell on my soul's neck and drew my heart towards the slavery (*giraugānī*) of the hall of dependence. Though for two more years a longing, which nearly came to action, held my heart so that in the recesses of soul there rose the strain "Ho, come out from among citizens and men of the world and indulge your idiosyncrasy in the ample abode of uniqueness, and the pleasant place of singularity," yet the Shāhinshāh's graciousness was daily lifting me from the floor of

grovelling (*khasī*) to the summit of personality (*kasī*) and was elevating me, degree by degree, on the steps of education. Accordingly the key of the temple (*Bait-al-maqaddas*) of Attainment fell into my hand, and Truth, spiritual and temporal, removed the veil from my eyes. In the first place I emerged from the tumult of Desire, and my second birth began. By my good fortune I reached the lofty chamber of discipleship to the sublime Director and so turned my face towards the border of my third birth. I came from the womb of conceit to the land of supplication and became a front-sitter in the reposeful hall of universal peace. By the blessing of the Divine aids and from the light-shedding of the sitter on the throne of fortune I came from the thorny ground of "Peace with all" to the ever-vernal rose-garden of Love, and became a gatherer of the flowers of joy. A fourth child was born to my mother-nature. At this stage my endeavour is to obtain a lofty-chambered dwelling in this thornless garden and autumnless spring, so that by the blissful ray of the *Shāhinshāh's* glance and by perseverance, a fifth child may glorify my mother-nature and I be exalted to the exceeding bliss of absolute Resignation, and so the cheating commotion of Desire may sink her face in annihilation. When I shall have obtained in this holy heaven a heart-pleasing abode, may I, by the guidance of the Foreseer of Creation's banquet obtain the fresh honour of a sixth birth and enter the glorious ocean and sit¹ at ease in the four-arched portico of Surrender, and abode of enlightenment, where the feet of Desire have been amputated, until at the seventh birth—which is the time of loosening the links of the elements—I may cast off from the shoulder of my nature the burden of social life, and arrive at the privy-chamber, which appears as non-existence, but which is full of joy. In that holy shrine there will be bestowed, together with an easy mind and an open brow, leisure for denudation and permission for separation, till at the eighth birth—either in the abode of metempsychosis or in the cessation of resurrection—I shall not be within the circle of Desire.² **116**

¹ *murabb'a-nishīn*, lit. sitting squarely, i.e., with the legs folded under one, as in the statues of Buddha.

² Cf. the third book of the *Inshā*, pp. 266-67 of the Niwal Kishor edition. Seven births are there described.

One of the occurrences was that Mu'nim K. Khān-Khānān had his fief in Bengal. When H. M. went to the eastern provinces, his estate had been allotted to him in Bihar. When the rebels of Bengal sustained defeat after defeat, and that country became an abode of peace, he sent Khwājah Shāh Manṣūr of Shīrāz to court and asked for a *jāgīr* in Bengal. The Shāhinshāh's graciousness granted his request.

One of the occurrences was that in the country round Agra things like spiders' webs, but several degrees thicker than they, fell upon the fields and pastures. In some places they were half a *jarīb*¹ in length and breadth, and in others they were smaller than this in length and breadth. Apparently, the sublime Divine Wisdom devised such a remedy for the corruption of the air, and so made a special display of His benevolence towards mankind.

¹ The *jarīb* was according to Wilson originally a measure of capacity. Jarrett II. 61, n. 2. Afterwards it came to be synonymous with a *bīgha* or about five-eighths of an acre, *id.* 62 n. But the word is

Arabic, and Lane gives *jirba* as a place of seed-produce. The word *jarīb* is also used in Timur's Institutes, White and Davey 365, to mean a division of land.

CHAPTER XXII.

INTRODUCTION OF THE LAW ABOUT BRANDING,¹ AND THE GUIDING OF
MEN TO TRUTH AND FIDELITY.

The adorning of the throne of sovereignty never passes a year or a month without devising good institutions or without tranquilising and decorating the world by the gleams of his far-seeing wisdom, which is the mirror of things earthly and Divine. At this time he cast far-reaching glances and established great principles for the regulation of the army and the peasantry and for the prosperity of the country; among them was the institution of Branding (*Dāgh*). It is not hid under the veil of concealment from judicious observers that man is continually dominated by cupidity and anger. The power of lust or wrath covers with dust the bright lamp of the understanding of the wise and mature, whenever there comes a little carelessness or neglect, so what can happen in the case of those who are sunk in folly? When too justice and humanity are rare, or rather are non-existent, and when the lord of horizons (Akbar or other sovereign) is behind the veil of inattention, assuredly there will be the commotion of avarice and the typhoon of faithlessness among many of the masters and servants. The commander² (*tābīn bāshī*) withholds from the followers what he has received from the court, and becomes more greedy, and the follower sprinkles the dust of disloyalty on his head and acts on all occasions as if he were his own master(?).

¹ In spite of the heading of this chapter, no description of branding is given. There is an account of it in the 7th Ain, B. 255. It was introduced by *Shahbāz K.* in the 20th year, B. 326. The corresponding chapter of the *Iqbāl-nāma* is fuller than the A. N., for the author has added some particulars taken from the Ain.

² Text *baāīn-i-imdād* بائین امداد. But a note states that several MSS. read *tābīnbāshī*, and the two I. O. MSS. and the Lucknow ed. have this reading, and it is probably the right one. For *tābīnbāshī* see B. 242 and 265.

Whoever turns away from such wickedness and from the crowd of the unjust and from such improper courses and out of self-respect
117 and observance of equity takes the path of just dealing, and chooses contentment and honesty, becomes stained with the dust of suspicion. Though in the beginning of this year, before the commotion in the eastern provinces, H. M. had applied his mind to this subject, and his officers had begun to work, yet the organisation of this great task took shape while the standards of fortune were at the capital. The inquiry was made then, and the grades of offices were settled. The Shāhinshāh in order to arrange the foundations of the kingdom, and for the peace of the subjects, made the imperial territories crown-lands. At the time when the sovereign was under the veil and was testing men, the imperial clerks increased immoderately the assessments on the territories, cities, towns and villages and opened the hand of embezzlement in raising and diminishing them. Whoever acquired their good graces gained his ends, and whoever's heart was not in the quarter of giving became a loser. Also whoever was well-treated, was from his unfairness and avarice, ungrateful, and whoever was less successful was on account of his discontent and disloyalty a grumbler. At the time when the beams of fortune's morning were brightening, and the throne-adorned was engaged in casting away the veil, he gave some of his attention to this subject and began by making the imperial territories crown-lands. The officers and other servants received money-salaries and their ranks were determined in accordance with their merit and the extent of their commands.

Able and trustworthy men were appointed to survey the spacious territories of India and to determine the amount of production and to substitute payments¹ in cash so that the market of the embezzlers might fall flat. The provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Gujrāt were from foresight and appreciation left as they were; Kabul, Qandahār, Ghaznī, Kashmīr, Tatta, the tracts of Bajaur

¹ I think this must be the meaning of the phrase *baqa'id-i-zabt darāwarda* بقاء ضبط در آورده

See Ain text, p. 296, line 6, where the phrase *bazabt āmad* is used to express the fact that Sher Shah and

his son substituted cash for payment in kind. In Timur's Institutes, p. 364, the phrase *arāzī mazbūt* is used, and the translators render it "restricted land." Apparently it means lands in occupation.

and Tīrā, and Bangash, and Sorath and Orissa had not been conquered. 182 collectors (*‘āmil*) were sent off to take care of the crown-lands (*Khālṣāt*), and as every collector was appointed over an extent of territory which yielded a krór of *tangas*,¹ they were popularly known by the name of *krorī*. At this time the head-officers were *Shahbāz Khān*, *Khwāja Ghīāṣud-dīn ‘Alī Āṣaf Khān*, *Rai Purakhotam* and *Rai Rām Dās*. By these measures the equipment of the army was provided for, and the country was well governed, while at the same time there was a safe-guard against trickery and embezzlement. H.M. also gave his attention to the regulation of measurements in order that cultivation might be increased. In former times measurements were made by a rope, and thus a difference arose according as the rope was wet or dry. This gave an opportunity for dishonesty. The *Shāhin-shāh* introduced poles² made of a reed which in Hindi is called **118** *bāns* (bamboo)—and which poles were joined by iron rings. By this device men’s minds were quieted and also the cultivation increased, and the path of fraud and falsehood was closed.

One of the great institutions was that of a Record-office.³ It was at this time of smiling fortune that the idea occurred to H.M. An order was issued and it was decreed that whatever proceeded from the court should be recorded so that the officers might have a valuable assistance, and that the administrative orders might be preserved. God be praised! for that what was formed in the hidden chamber of the holy heart was carried into effect. By this excellent device the religious service suitable to the condition of society was performed! The details of these great laws are given in the concluding volume.⁴

One of the occurrences was that the cupola of chastity *Qasīma*⁵ *Bānū*, the daughter of ‘Arab *Shāh*, entered the royal harem. A

¹ Or *tankas*. Cf. *Badayūnī*, Lowe 192, and Elliot V. 383. At B. 13 A. F. speaks of officers being appointed over a krór of *dāms*. Does this mean that *tanka* and *dām* are synonymous?

² Cf. Jarrett II. 62.

³ See account of this office in Blochmann 258.

⁴ The reference is to the *Ain*, Blochmann 258, etc.

⁵ *Qīma* in text, but there is the variant *Qasīma* (beautiful) which I adopt in preference to Blochmann’s *Qismīyah*, Blochmann 618.

great feast was given, and the high officers and other pillars of the State were present at it and rejoiced.

Verse.

Gardens on gardens (of flowers) were scattered in joy.
Caps were flung to sky upon sky.

This is an important chapter, but as usual, A. F. is unduly concise when he ought to be explanatory. The measure of making the whole of the dominions crown-land seems very revolutionary. The office of 'Āmil or collector is described in Jarrett II. 43.

There is also a reference to the

krorīs in Blochmann 13. A. F. there states that it was the Khwājahsarā Iti'mād Khān who set Akbar upon making his reforms in the administration of the land. See Blochmann's note 1, p. 13. The chapter on Sayurghals, Blochmann 268, should be studied. See also Elliot V. 343.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MUN'IM KHĀN KHĀN-KHĀNĀN'S WARS IN BENGAL, THE DEFEAT OF
DĀŪD, AND OTHER EVENTS.

When by the Divine aid Bengal had been conquered, Dāūd went off to Sāt-gāon and Orissa. Kālā Pahār, Sulaimān, Bābū Mankalī and some other Afghans went off to Ghorāghāt. Wherever they went, they raised disturbances. The Khān-Khānān in concert with Rajah Todar Mal took up his quarters in Tānda which is the capital of that country, and engaged in arranging matters, political and financial. Owing to the just constitutions of the Shāhinshāh the distracted condition of Bengal was cured. Victorious armies were stationed in the vicinity of and on all sides of that city in order that that delightful country might be wholly purged of the weeds and rubbish of opposition. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Tokbāī, Khawāja 'Abdullah, Niyābat Khān, Qamar Khān, Maqbūl Khān, Tālib Beg, Nāṣir Beg and a set of brave and active men were sent towards Sāt-gāon under the command of Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās in order that they might give Dāūd no time to make preparations and that they might seize him. Majnūn Khān, Bābā Khān, Jabbārī, M. Beg, Khāldīn and another set were sent **119** to Ghorāghāt¹ in order to put down the disturbances there. Murād Khān and a chosen force of brave men were sent towards Fathābad² and Baglā³ in order to make that territory an abode of peace. Itimād Khān and a number of strenuous combatants were sent to Sonārganw (Sonārgāon) in order that they might stay the hands of the oppressors.

When the cure of the calamities of the people of that country had been arranged for, it was announced that Junaid Kararānī—who had fled from the sublime court—had cast the dust of failure on his

¹ Blochmann 434.² Jarrett II. 123.³ Jarrett II. 132. Baglā is Baklā

and is part of the modern district of Backergunge. Pargana Candradwīp belongs to it. See Jarrett II. 123.

head and had come from Gujrat and the Deccan to Jharkhand, and was meditating a disturbance. Rajah Todar Mal, Qiyā Khān, Nazr Bahādur, Abul-Qāsim Namakīn and a number of holy warriors set themselves to suppress him. By heaven's help they did good service, and the enemy suffered loss and turned their faces to the desert of destruction. The Qāqshāls displayed valour in the country of Ghorāghāt, and the discomfited enemy fled towards Kūc (Kūc Bihar). Sulaimān Mankalī was killed, and the victors obtained much booty, and made the families of the Afghans prisoners. That extensive country came into the possession of the imperial servants. Junaid, who had come out from Jharkhand, turned away before the might of the brave ghāzīs, and hid himself in the hills. The victorious army returned and came to Bardwan.

At this time Maḥmūd Khān, son of Sikandar Khān, Muḥammad Khān and some other presumptuous rebels stirred up strife in the town of Selimpūr.¹ The Rajah sent a suitable force against them, and there was an engagement. Muḥammad Khān was killed, and Sikandar's son fled. Just then news came that Junaid had emerged from the abyss of contempt and was stirring up strife. The Rajah went off to that quarter. Junaid had gone off from Jharkhand to Dāūd with the idea that perhaps he might play the game of deceit with him and collect materials for disturbance. Owing to his self-opiniatedness, and excessive demands he did not get his companionship, and was returning when he was astonished by hearing the sound of the victorious army. Nazr Bahādur, Abul Qāsim Namakīn, Muḥammad Khān son of Sulṭān Ādam Gakhar, Imām Qulī Cūlak, Bihārhamal Khetrī, and some brave men who were marching in front of the victorious army, had from inexperience advanced too far, and had not behaved with prudence.

120 Junaid fell upon them. Muḥammad Khān, Bihārhamal and some others behaved bravely and sacrificed their lives. When this news came to Rajah Todar Mal he proceeded with prudence to chastise the wretch, and Junaid was unable to stand his ground and fled quickly to Jharkhand. By the daily-increasing favour of God the dust of disturbance was laid.

¹ In Sarkār Maḥmūdābad. Jarrett II. 133.

One of the occurrences was that Yār Muḥammad Arghūn Qarāwal proceeded to near Mūlhair¹ and plundered that country and got hold of a great deal of property. The elephant Apār, which is one of the noted elephants of that region, was one of the things he got. Though Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān summoned² him, he made excuses, and hastened to the borders of Jhārkhand and set about collecting property. The vagabonds of the country gathered round him. Thence he plundered up to the city of Belghatha, and came to the jungles of Lūnī³ and Kankar, which were the asylum of the Afghan families. There too he stretched out the hand of power and got possession of much property. His whole design was that he might hasten by way of Jhārkhand to the sublime court, and in this way bring into safety his collections. When he came to Tāra,⁴ Bhūpat Cohān and Shihāb the son of Dhanjī arrived in the jungle. The victorious army addressed itself to pursue them. Bhūpat from trickery came and paid his respects (to Yār Muḥammad). He learnt the state of affairs and in the guise of friendship acted as an enemy. By his guidance Junaid made a night attack, and got hold of everything that he (Yār M.) had collected, and of all the goods of the merchants and of that great caravan. The slumbrous one awoke from the sleep of negligence, and was fortunate enough to join the Rajah's army. Before the might of the latter Junaid again took shelter in the hills.

Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās proceeded against Dāūd with the army which was aided by heaven, and conducted it with prudence. When he came within twenty *kos* of Sātgaon, the enemy began to waver. They threw the dust of ruin on their heads and

¹ In Baglāna S. of Gujrat. Mulhair is now in the Nausārī district of Baroda. Jarrett II. 251, n. 2, where it is spelt Muler. But it is doubtful if this can be the place meant. Muher on the borders of Behar and Jhārkand may be the place meant. See text, p. 127.

² It appears from the sequel that it was rather the elephant that was

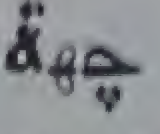
sent for, than the qarāwal himself! Yār Muḥ. was shortly afterwards put to death, text p. 127.

³ This can hardly be the Lūnī in Jodhpūr, B. 398, n. 1. Belghatta may be the place in Ghoraghāt. J. 136.

⁴ Perhaps Du Tara or Dunārā in Jodhpur. Jarrett II. 276.

went off towards Orissa. The victorious army encamped at the port of Sātgaon. The gates of justice were thrown open and measures were taken for soothing the distracted inhabitants. At this time, scouts brought the news that Sirharī who was Dāūd's rational soul was going off rapidly to the country of Catar.¹ Though Muhammad Qulī Khān made all speed, he was not successful, and that alert trickster got off in safety. All the thoughts of the leaders of the army were about taking their ease in that country. Meanwhile

121 Rajah Todar Mal joined them, and spoke severely and honestly to them about proceeding towards Orissa and extirpating Dāūd. By the vigour of his intelligence and his endurance of burdens he cured the babblers and he supported Muhammad Qulī Khān Barlās. While they were at the town of Mandalpūr² Muhammad Qulī Khān died in the middle of Dai, Divine month. Except that at the time of breaking his fast he ate *pān* and then got fever (*harāratī*), no other cause of death appeared. Some farseeing ones ascribed this result to the evil designs of one of the slaves of the Khwāja Sarā.³ This unavoidable event caused disorder in the camp, and the market of the opportunists became brisk. A number of men made Qiya Khān, who was the head of the babblers and was at enmity with the Khān-Khānān, their leader, and resolved to proceed to court by way of Jhārkhand. They proposed to make the discomfiture of Junaid a trophy for the *kornish*. Though Rajah Todar Mal used his reason and his loyalty, he

¹ *Catar* () in text: see Blochmann 341 who calls Sirharī Sar-madī. Perhaps Chittuī is the place meant. See Blochmann 375, 376. Chittuī is N. of Midnapore. Apparently this is the Chatwā in Madāran of Jarrett II. 141. There is the variant Jessore.

² B. says 342 Mednīpūr and so does the T. A. But Mednīpūr was then in Orissa, which perhaps the imperialists had not entered. The Maasir III. 206 has Mandalpūr, as in the A. N. There is no Mandalpur in the 'Ain, but there is a Mandal-

ghāt mentioned in Sarkār Madāran, J. II. 141, which is perhaps the same as Mandalpūr. B.J.A.S.B. XLII, 223, says it is at the mouth of the Rūpnarain. Perhaps by Mednīpūr B. only means that the place is now in the Midnapore district. See also Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 107.

³ Blochmann 341, 342. I take the Khwāja Sarā to be I'timād Khān, but perhaps all that is meant is that Muhammad Qulī was poisoned by one of his own eunuchs. This is Blochmann's view.

was not successful. He sent couriers to the Khān-Khānān to inform him, and represented that the method to restrain the faction was to send money by one who was loyal and smooth-tongued. Mun'im Khān sent a large sum by Lashkar Khān, and held out both threats and hopes. In accordance with the Rajah's advice the envoy in a manner quieted the slaves to gold. By the foresight and efforts of Mun'im Khān, Shāham Khān, Khawāja 'Abdullah, and a body of brave and loyal men joined the army, and by their arrival order was restored. Their hesitating and discontented hearts resolved upon extirpating Dāūd, and they marched off.

Dāūd had hurried off to the extremities of Hindustan and was anxious to spend his days in the corner of obscurity, but when he heard of the dissensions in the victorious army, and got encouragement from Khān Jahān (Lodī) who governed Orissa for him, he returned to do battle. The officers left Bardwan and came by Madāran¹ to Citua.² As the foreheads of many of the officers were still stained with disaffection the Rajah (Todar Mal) considered that if this was their condition how would things go on the day of battle, which is the time for the seething of devotion and courage. It was clear that if the Khān-Khānān arrived, no mischief would happen from the evil-heartedness of some of the misguided ones. Acting on this idea he wrote to him. The Khān-Khānān was spending his time in the far-off thoughts (*i.e.* apprehensions) of old men, and he did not consider sufficiently that if a misfortune happened to the army, things would become difficult. At this time the prescience of the world's lord took matters into its hands. The brief account of this story is that the alert *sazāwals* brought the holy order. Its gist was that as by heaven's help that fine country had come into the possession of the imperial servants, and the inhabitants had obtained justice, he was not to consider the discomfiture of the enemy a light matter, but address his energies to his extirpation so that the inhabitants might once for all be at rest about his commotions. The Khān-Khānān was

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¹ Identified by B. with Bhitargarh in Hugli district, J.A.S.B., vol. 42, 223, n. See also Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 106.

² In Sarkar Madāran, the Catwa of J. II. 141. It is in Midnapore, near Ghattāl, Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 106.

obliged to conform to the order and to undertake the task. He joined the army at Cittūā. Dāūd was with a large army in Harpūr,¹ which is intermediate between Bengal and Orissa, and was taking special care to strengthen the approaches. Many of the officers, and the common soldiers, were from folly and cowardice, and bad intentions, disinclined to serve, and wanted that there should be some kind of agreement made (with the enemy). The Khān-Khānān convened a council of enlightened men and in the first place read chapters from the Shāhinshāh's book² of fortune (his rescript), and exerted himself to encourage them. After this he spoke about loosing the knots of difficulty, and about their preserving their reputation. Each officer answered according to his knowledge and courage, and the degree of his devotion. Some preferred peace to war, and sought for safety. Some set their hearts upon fighting, but reflected upon the difficulties of the roads. Others from excess of courage did not distinguish between what was easy and what was difficult and rejoiced in the giving of battle. At last by the exertions of Rajah Todar Mal and the firmness of Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān, all agreed to fight. But search was made for another road, for it was difficult to go straight forward. Ilyās (Elias) Khān Langā and a number who knew the difficulties of the country pointed out an easier way and did good service. The strenuous and laborious were sent off to smooth and make easy that route. They with agility and dexterity crossed by that path into Orissa. All Dāūd's plans for fortifying the roads were made vain. With a distracted heart he turned back and resolved upon giving battle. The two armies came face to face in Tukaroī,³ and that battlefield was adorned by the flashings of the heroes' swords. The brave men on both sides distinguished themselves, and presented the coin of valour to a crucial test. At last by the blessing of the Shāhinshāh's fortune,

¹ Or Harīpūr, B. 375. Perhaps the Harpat of J. II. 125. However I. O. MS. 236 has Dharpūr, which is given as a variant in Bib. Ind. The word recurs at p. 435, and perhaps Dharpūr is the correct reading. See Elliot VI. 75.

² Perhaps this only means that he recalled to their recollection various successes of Akbar.

³ See Blochmann's valuable note 375.

on the day of Dīn 24 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 20 Zīlq'aada (3 March 1575), Dāūd was defeated, and a large number were killed. The account of this great boon is that when the Khān-Khānān determined on this engagement, the troops were drawn up as follows: He commanded the centre, and Lashkar Khān, Hāshim Khān, Maḥasan Khān and many strenuous men **123** supported him. The *Altamsh* was commanded by Qiyā Khān, Khānzāda Muḥammad Khān, son of Kocak 'Alī Khān Badakhshī, and others. The *harāwal* (vanguard) was composed of 'Ālam Khān, Khawāja 'Abdullah, Shīroya Khān, Saiyid 'Abdullah, M. 'Alī 'Ālamshāhī, Shāh Tāhir, Shāh Khalīl, Talīb Khān, Niyābat Khān, M. Muḥammad Jalāir, Khān Qulī Dīwāna, Hāfiz Kosa, Shujā' Beg, and others. The right wing was ordered by the strength and wisdom of Shāham Khān Jalāir, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Tokbāi, Payinda Muḥammad Khān, 'Timād Khān, Qatlaq Qadam Khān and Saiyid Shamsu-d-dīn Bokhārī. In the left wing were Āshraf Khān, Rajah Todar Mal, Moẓaffar Moghal, Yār Muḥammad Qarāwal, Abūl Qāsim Namakīn, and others. When the enemy came in front of the victorious army, courage was tested each day, and brave actions were performed on both sides.

Verse.

From the amount of blood sprinkled everywhere
The ground was like a lacerated face.
Three days was blood thus spilt;
The valiant did not cease from fighting.

On that day, in consequence of oppositions of the planets they did not intend to engage, and the brave men combated according to the daily practice. All at once the enemy came up in battle-array. In the centre Dāūd heaped up materials for his ruin with his own hands. The right wing was dark with the gloom¹ of Sikandar, the brother of Khān Jahān. The left was oppressed by the evil thoughts of Ism'ail Khān. The van was commanded by Gūjar Khān. All at once the commotion began. The Khān-Khānān was

¹ *Shomī*, referring to Alexander's failure to find the water of life.

compelled to draw up his forces and was supported by the fortune of the Shāhinshāh. The Khān 'Ālam from his noble disposition and excessive courage broke the thread of discretion, and galloped too far. The archers¹ applied their hand to the work and there was a hot fight. The Khān-Khānān was vexed at this mistake and sent an angry message to him and brought him back. The imperial army had not yet been properly arranged when Gūjar Khān advanced with a formidable line of active elephants in front and his presumptuous and daring troops behind. As the tusks and heads and necks of the elephants were covered with black yak-tails and the skins of the animals, they produced horror and dismay; the horses of the imperial van were frightened on seeing these extraordinary forms, and hearing the terrible cries, and turned back. Though the riders exerted themselves, they were not

124 successful and the troops lost their formation. Khān 'Ālam, who was mounted on a tried and fearless steed, remained firm and displayed courage, and slew many of the Afghans. Suddenly his horse got a sword-cut and reared, and he fell off. But with consummate agility he mounted again, and again adorned the fight. Just then a misfortune befel him, viz., he was overthrown by an elephant. The Afghans crowded on, and he yielded up his life after the manner of the loyal and the famous of the visible and invisible world. By this profitable trafficking (*az saudāi pūr sūd*) an everlasting good name revealed itself. Before the dust of war had risen he had said to some of the servants of the fortunate threshold that he had a presentiment that he would fall in this banquet of battle and that he trusted that they would mention his devotion at the sacred court and tell the great assemblage that the well-pleasing of the lord of horizons is the material of salvation and the adornment of eternal life. What is there improbable in such intimations to the pure hearts of the sincere?

When this happened to the leader, Gūjar Khān drove off the whole force and proceeded against the *altamsh*. As soon as he reached it, it broke. Khānzāda Muḥammad Khān bravely sacrificed his life and went to the eternal land. Then that presumptuous and daring one routed the troops (the *altamsh*) and proceeded to

¹ *giroh-i-ūqci*.

attack the centre. The courage of the latter (the centre) was shaken, and the men received the retribution of their feelings. Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān with Lashkar Khān, Hājī Khān Sīstānī, Hāshim Khān and some others stood their ground and fought bravely. Though the Khān-Khānān's servants did not behave well, he manfully received wounds. Though he had many wounds on the head, neck and shoulder he did not give way, but took his whip.¹ Lashkar Khān, Hājī Khān Sīstānī and Hāshim Khān were also wounded. The Khān-Khānān used always to say that though the wound on the head healed, his eyesight remained injured, and that though the wound on the neck got better, yet he had not the power to look well behind, and that owing to the wound on the shoulder, he could not properly raise his hand to his head. In spite of all these severe wounds, no idea of retreating entered his mind. At this time a number of his well-wishing servants seized his rein and turned him round. Gūjar was just then driving the people before him, till at last he came to the imperial camp. That orderly place was plundered, and this increased his pride and presumption. In his intoxication and haughtiness he in order to encourage his men cried out with a loud voice, "I have inflicted severe wounds on the Khān-Khānān, what is the good of prolonging the fight, make efforts, and 125 bring the thing to an end." But to his confidants he, being frightened at the uncertainties of fortune, was saying, "In spite of the signs of victory my soul does not rejoice, and from time to time my sadness increases. I know not what will appear from the veil of fate, and how the affair will end." When he passed beyond the camp many of his men dispersed in order to plunder. At this time Qīyā Khān and his son turned some of the fugitives and proceeded to fight. Khwājā 'Abdullah, Shīroya Khān, Selīm, Khān, Hājī Yūsuf Khān, Shujā' Beg, Jabbār Qulī Dīwāna, Hāfiz Kosa and others *brought the escaped water back to its channel*, and the Divine favour, which is surety for the hopes of this great

¹ Cf. Elliot V. 387 where it is said that Gūjar K. personally wounded the Khān-Khānān and that as the latter had no sword, he returned the cuts with slashes of his

whip. The statement that he had no sword is not in the Lucknow ed. of the T.A., p. 325, though it mentions the use of the whip.

dominion, shone forth. The power of the Shāhinshāh's favour took the upper hand. At this time when the brave and loyal advanced and renewed the battle, an arrow from the quiver of fate conveyed the order of annihilation to Gūjar. When he was destroyed, his comrades became disheartened and fled, and besides those who were killed, there were many who lost their honour. The Khān-Khānān who had hurried off three *kos* beyond the camp, returned and set his face to the battlefield. During the uproar when the heroes of the right and left wings were drawn up and engaged, the right wing of the enemy came in front. Apparently they had heard of Gūjar's success and wished to join him, when what was decreed (his death) occurred. They fled without coming to blows. The state of matters was that Dāūd came in front of the imperial left wing. Rajah Todar Mal by the vigour of his understanding kept his ground and held his troops in readiness. Just then one of the babblers brought bad news of the Khān-Khānān and Khān 'Ālam. He remained steadfast and replied, "The ray of the Shāhinshāh's fortune is shedding light on the heads of the courageous and loyal servants, if the days of one are ended, and if the feet of another have slipped, what injury has happened to fortune's countenance, and why should the strenuous supporters of dominion be dismayed. Don't prate, and don't say such things. The breeze of victory is about to blow, and the light of success is emerging from the horizon of hope." With heartening words he put the seal of silence on the lips of that ill-conditioned one, and hung in the ears of his understanding the jewels of instruction. He himself became the leader of the loyal. Bābāi Kūlābī, Maqṣūd 'Alī, Mīr Yūsuf Ābbārānī (of the river Bārān in Afghanistan), Ḥusain Beg Gūrd, and a number of other active men went forward to

126 fight. Shāham Khān Jalair lost firmness on hearing of the boldness of Gūjar and of the confusion of the army and was turning back. Saiyid Shamsu-d-dīn Bokhārī, and a number of brave and devoted men who were in unison with him, spoke bitter-sweet words to comfort his soul and increase his activity, and so remedied matters. By the November-clouds of these ocean-hearted men of war and lovers of honour the dust of apprehension was laid, and the brave men of the right wing became of one heart and soul, and turned towards the left wing of the enemy. A battle ensued

and in a short space of time the enemy was driven off, and the victors proceeded against the centre. At this time, when the battle hung in the balance between the Rajah and Dāūd, the right wing of the imperial army appeared, and the enemy became disconcerted. Though Dāūd had heard of the defeat of the vanguard, *altamsh* and centre of the imperialists, the might of the *Shāhinshāh*'s fortune made him regard this as a trick of experienced soldiers, and so he abode in the stony place of cowardice till this army (the imperial right wing) arrived. The ingrate became shameless and fled to the desert of destruction. Just then news came of the fall of Gūjar, and there was hastiness in flight. The victorious soldiers followed with drawn swords. Many of the wretches slept the sleep of annihilation, and the plain became a tulip-garden from the blood of the slain.

Verse.

In every corner there fell a drunkard,
Such a drunkard as ne'r became sober.
You'd say 'twas a banquet, not a battle—
A banquet in which the brave were the wine-drinkers.

Abundant plunder was obtained, and there was physical and spiritual good fortune. Visible and invisible felicity was attained. The imperial servants had their wishes gratified, and offered up their thanksgivings.

Oh seeker after enlightenment, open the eye of edification and regard with an instructed eye the marvels of the Divine aid! Advance from denial to confession, from confession to trust, and from trust to the lofty stage of devotion, and rejoice in the truth!

Verse.

Wisdom keeps not pace with his lofty fortune.
Hail, O power of fortune, Allah Akbar.

After such an unexpected victory, obtained by the Divine aid, the *Khān-Khānān*'s bodily wounds, and inward lacerations, were healed by the balm of conquest. Though before this, Bengal had come into possession, yet in the estimation of acute observers this day was the day of the conquest of that wide territory. A great

boon came from the abodes of secrecy to the bright halls of manifestation. The pillar of fortune was upreared. The Khān-
127 Khānān chose a camping-ground near the battlefield, and expanded in thanksgivings. Next day, owing to the abundant wickedness of the crew of ingrates, and to the o'ermastering power of wrath, he exerted himself in gathering together the prisoners. Their souls and bodies were separated, and eight sky-high minarets were made of their brainless heads, as a warning to spectators. When the news of this great victory reached the august hearing, there was an increase of awakening, and thanksgivings were made. Rescripts of great graciousness were issued, and the honours of the loyal and serviceable were increased. Their outward rank was exalted, and so also was their spiritual dignity.

One of the occurrences of these days was that the cup of life of Lashkar Khān became brimful. He was recovering from the severe wound which had disabled him on the day of the battle, but he died from carelessness and disregard during the days of convalescence.

One of the occurrences was the death of Yār Muḥammad Arghūn. He was one of the royal hunters, and was a prominent servant. His good service in Bengal carried him into the thorn-brake of presumption. By searching and striving he gathered secret treasures¹ and he behaved presumptuously as if he were chief of the army. Although Mun'im K. sent for the elephant Apār, which had come into his possession, he did not forward it. Advice did him no good. In this battle too he had a dispute with some of his servants about the plunder. When they demanded justice, the old enmity blazed forth. Without inquiring fully into the matter, or looking closely into it, he (Mun'im) opened the hand of wrath and condemned him to capital punishment. They beat him so severely that the woof and warp of his existence came to pieces. Though he was tyrannously dealt with, yet many evil-minded and presumptuous persons were guided to the happy land of obedience.

¹ *Asbāb-i-Mukannat* apparently means "hidden properties." *Balashkar begī dam-i-istikbār zad.* "He breathed the breath of pride as if he were Commander-in-Chief."

But it may also mean that he behaved presumptuously to the head of the army. He was a scout (*qārawal*) as well as a hunter.

CHAPTER XXIV.¹

BEGINNING OF THE 20TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE
SHĀHINSHĀH, TO WIT, THE YEAR ĀBĀN OF THE SECOND CYCLE.

At this time of the increase of justice, and of world-adornment,
 the harbingers of good tidings arrived, bringing the news of Spring,
 and conferred world-wide joy.

Verse.

This day is the day of joy, and this year the year of the rose ;
 Good is the heart's state, for good is that of the rose.

What is the rose? 'Tis a messenger from the garden of joy.

What is the rose? 'Tis a letter telling of universal² glory.

On the day of Friday 27 Zīl-'qaada 982 (11 March 1575), after
 the passing of 7 hours, 35 minutes, the world-adornor (the sun) cast **128**
 his rays on the mansion of Aries.

Verse.

They tied a picture on the arm of morning,
 They gave it the embellishment of early spring.
 Time gave colour and fragrance to spring,
 It put a nosegay in the hand of wish.

The twentieth year, which belonged to the second cycle, began.
 There were rejoicings, and universal joy. Just as the physical
 Spring year by year increases the beauty of young growths of
 vegetation and augments the joy of the spectators of material
 flashes so does the springtide of the fortune of the enthroned one
 adorn the parterre of sovereignty with the development of the
 virgins of the spirit, and increase the glory of the veiled ones
 who fashion existence and Divinity? There is joy to those who
 delight in the mystic garden such as does not come to the lovers
 of physical flowers in the material spring. In this book of Divine
 praise, although the foundation of the work is laid on a description

¹ This chapter is much shortened in the Lucknow edition.

² Text has *gul* at the end of the fourth line, but I think it should be *kull*.

of the wondrous workings of external fortune, and it is this which colours its words and makes them picturesque, yet as a comprehensive, much-knowing soul even with hundreds of torches of Divine aid cannot compound the collyrium for fully perceiving the limitless, spiritual ruler, how can the hand, the pen, the paper, the ink have the brightness to succeed in the mighty task? But inasmuch as genius helps, fortune is auspicious, and disposition consonant therewith, I let a little trickle out from the abounding river and so water the adust souls of the desert of inquiry, and light up a part of that hall of brilliance with the rays of the lamp of vision, and so illuminate the darkened ones of Use and Wont. O thou of somnolent fortune, if thou feelest that the opening of thy inward eye is a task beyond thy capacity, yet the opening of thy external eye is a thing dependent on thy will, why dost thou not open thy vision and cast a glance at the journal of the deeds of the Khedive of the world? If thou hast not power to contemplate the spectacle of that Manifester of holiness, why dost thou abandon the perusal of the ways of those attached to the sublime court? If from evil fortune and from wisdom's being overlaid with self-interest thou hast not the felicity to do this, contemplate to-day this work of fortune (*iqbāl-nāma*, *i.e.*, the A. N.) so that the holy blessings of the Unique and Incomparable One may vouchsafe an illuminating ray. If inward darkness let fall a veil over thy outer eye, take instruction from the condition of those attached to this Fortune, and from the wondrous marks therein acknowledge the sublime state of the world's lord! Deeds which in former times were with difficulty executed by magnanimous princes, are now easily exhibited by H.M.'s servants. Then turning from the

129 external to the internal infer what is the felicity of the holy spirit (of Akbar), and prostrate the forehead of the heart as well as the outward brow before the celestial threshold, so that, like those who are auspicious, thou mayest first bring thy external state into proper condition, and also enter upon the ever-verdant rose-garden of the inner life!

A fresh instance of fortune which adorned the opening of this year was that Dāūd, who wore upon his head the tiara of rule, made it a foot-rest in the court of the Shāhinshāh's fortune and became a servant of the threshold of fortune.

CHAPTER XXV.

DĀŪD'S COMING TO SEE MUN'IM KHĀN KHĀN-KHĀNĀN, AND
THE ADORNING OF THE FEAST OF CONCORD.

When by the help of the heavenly armies, which are ever engaged in heightening the fortune of the world's lord and in elevating the standards of his fortune, Dāūd had cast the dust of disgrace on his fortune's head, and had taken to flight, and when Gūjar and many of the proud had gone down to the pit of annihilation, as has already been briefly related, the Khān-Khānān, acting in accordance with the advice of experienced men, sent Shāham Khān Jalāir, and Rajah Todar Mal to pursue the wretch. Qabūl Khān, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqbāi, S'aīd Badakhshī, Qamar Khān, Shāh Tāhir, Shāh Khalīl, Tālib Bakhshī and many other active men had impressed upon their minds the canons of warfare and went forward on this duty. The infatuated Dāūd hastened to the corner of contempt. When the imperial troops reached the town of Bhadrak, it was ascertained that Jahān Khān had quickly joined him, and given him encouragement and taken him towards the fort of Katak (Cuttack) which is one of the strong forts of the province. The vagabonds of the country had gathered round him, and the sole thought of the presumptuous ones was that if the victorious army should come there, they might give battle, as the sudden defeat (*i.e.*, the battle of Tukaroi) had been the result of want of caution. If there was delay in their coming, they would make arrangements for a contest, and on a proper opportunity obtain their revenge. On hearing this news the old servants, whose fortunes were somnolent, were dismayed. The sedition-mongers became active in their machinations. Though Rajah Todar Mal brought his wisdom and fidelity to bear, and addressed himself to the soothing and quieting this crew, he was not successful. He was obliged to ask for the presence of the Khān-Khānān, and plainly wrote that a difficult business had been made easy by the fortune of the Shāhinshāh. If reliance were placed on con-

ceited¹ men who were inefficient and heedless of the day of reckoning, things would again become difficult. It was fitting that the Khān-Khānān should take the matter into his own hands, and
130 come hither without delay. Though the Khān-Khānān's wounds were not yet healed he set off in a litter² and speedily arrived at the spot. He soothed the empty-headed and reproved the self-conceited, and so brought them back from their evil thoughts, and then pushed forward. He came near to that strong fort which the foolish Afghans had thought to be their refuge. Their confidence began to abate. They had no equipment for the defence of the fort, no means of fighting, and no way of fleeing, and the victorious army was numerous. Dāūd at the advice of tricksters adopted feline stratagems. He turned to entreaties and abjectness and knocked at the door of peace. He sent Fattū, Shaikh Nizām and some other officers, and these tricksters by gold and words induced the leaders of the army to come to terms. The old servants whose fortune was somnolent exerted³ themselves to magnify by finesses the enemy's position, and regarding this a means of increasing their reputation considered the proposition of a settlement as an advantage. Though Rajah Todar Mal, who knew the real state of the case, exerted himself hand and foot, it was of no use. In that abode of darkness the torch of his monition could not give light! The Khān-Khānān sent Hāshim Khān and Qutluq Qadam Khān, and expounded the conditions of peace. The gist of the compact was that in the first place Dāūd should come and accept the service of the holy court, and send noted elephants and other choice presents. After some time, when he had done good service, he was to convey his ashamed face to the holy threshold of the Shāhinshāh, and have it coloured with

¹ Perhaps the Rajah was referring especially to Qiyā K. See text, p. 121, l. 7.

² *Sūkāsan*. See J. II. 122 for description of this kind of litter.

³ I presume that the meaning is that the old servants represented the position and resources of the enemy to be more than they were.

"They regarded this as a means of increasing their reputation." I suppose this means that they now magnified the enemy's position, thinking that they would thereby make people believe that their former views about the difficulty of the imperialists' enterprise were correct.

fidelity. At present he was to send one of his confidential relations to court to act there as his representative.

Dāūd, whose affairs were *in extremis*, gladly accepted every thing. On 3 Ardībihis^{ht}, Divine month, corresponding to 1 Muḥarram 983 (12 April 1575), there was a celebration. The banquet of reconciliation was prepared. Previous to this a pleasant spot had been chosen outside of the camp, and been adorned to the admiration of beholders. The Khān-Khānān came into the hall of joy on the above-mentioned date, and there was a festival. Ashraf Khān, and Hājī Khān Sīstānī hastened and brought Dāūd and his nobles. The Khān-Khānān went to the edge of the carpet to welcome him, and displayed warm affection. Dāūd loosed his sword and left it behind him, implying that he had left off soldiering and had made himself over to the sublime court, and would do whatever the pillars of empire thought it right for him to do. The Khān-Khānān made him over to his servants, and after a time a splendid *Khilāt* was given to him on the part of the threshold of the Caliphate, and a sword and embroidered belt were **131** bound upon his waist. Dāūd with the humblest loyalty turned towards the quarter of the capital and made the prostration of service. He presented noted elephants, the rarities of the country, and abundant money, and made over Shaikh Muḥammad, the son of Bāyazīd who was his own nephew, that he might accompany Mun'im Khān to court. Much of that day was devoted to feasting and rejoicing, and when Dāūd received leave to depart, some¹ estates in Orissa were given in fief to him. When Mun'im Khān had dismissed him from the defile of difficulty to the wide expanse of joy he himself returned (to the camp). The generality showed joy, with the exception of Rajah Todar Mal, who from his far-seeingness kept his head in the fold of thought, and who was not present in that banqueting hall, nor put his seal to the document of that peace. Inasmuch as the world is a place of retribution, every one of them very quickly had the recompense² of his actions.

¹ According to Nizāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V. 390 and Stewart 161, the whole of Orissa was conferred upon Dāūd. Perhaps the phrase "*b'azī mahāl*" used in text has the techni-

cal sense of miscellaneous revenues.

² Alluding apparently to the deaths of the officers shortly afterwards in the pestilence at Gaur.

One of the occurrences was the disturbance in Ghorāghāt. The brief account of this is that when the Khān-Khānān with most of the troops proceeded to Katak; Kālā Pahār, and Bābūi Mankalī and a number of Afghans raised a commotion and fell upon the Qāqshāls. The latter made a little resistance and then covered their honour with the dust of disgrace! The Afghans took possession of Ghorāghāt, and pursued the Qāqshāls. The latter could find no place in which to plant the foot of firmness and came to Tānda. The Khān-Khānān swiftly returned, and without entering into the city of Tānda hastened off from its neighbourhood to encounter the enemy. The enemy was indulging in confidence on the other side of the Ganges. The able leaders of the imperial army proceeded up stream to a place where the Ganges forms two branches, and had bridged one, and were preparing to bridge the other when the enemy lost courage. They stained themselves with the dust of defeat and took to flight. The Khān-Khānān hastened with his army to the borders of Tānda and from there despatched a force under Majnūn Khān to Ghorāghāt. The strenuous fighters reconquered that country and the sedition-mongers descended to the corner of contempt. The Khān-Khānān returned thanks to God and to the Shāhīnshāh's fortune and returned (to Tānda).

CHAPTER XXVI.

AFFAIRS OF THE PROVINCE OF BIHAR, INCREASING PERFORMANCES
OF MOZAFFAR KHĀN, AND HIS RETURN TO FAVOUR.

The benefactions¹ which the Shāhinshāh bestows on mankind in general are beyond the region of computation, and the public are obliged to confess their inability to requite them. How then can those who are attached to the court, and are prominent sitters in the assemblage of justice, discharge the burden of their gratitude? In truth who has the courage, and where is the capacity that can **132** indulge in the thought of recompense? Devotion throughout long lives by single-hearted, efficient men cannot make requital for one of a hundred thousand favours! But the first stage of making up the account is, after perceiving the degrees of favour, not to forget to make a list of the register of reverence, and to attach the cincture of strenuous effort to one's service and to reckon whatever of good deeds has been done as one of a thousand acts of thanksgiving. So that one may always be abashed and ashamed, nor loose the thread of calculation, nor allow the contemplation of the imperfect service of all and of one's own good deeds to become the material of insolence. May one by this life of praise attain to the stage of limpid sincerity (*ikhhlās*), and become a fixture at the threshold of obedience! May he pass the stage of selling his service and place the seal of silence on his lips. Hail to the fortunate one in whose journey through the ups and downs of service the dust of shame has not settled on the face of his fortune. Or if, from his inauspicious star, the dust of shame may have touched him, he has washed it away by the clear water of understanding, and he has with an open brow and cheerful countenance carried out what was in his destiny. How shall I write that there can be no change (for the better) in such obedience? On the contrary, even to wearied souls there comes, from long habits of obedience and service, a ray of the Presence,

¹ This introduction is bombastic and obscure and is wanting in the Lucknow edition.

and from time to time an increase of light. The case of Mozaffar Khān is a clear illustration of this fact.

It has already been related how H. M. as a means of producing discretion and enlightenment in him, had, without permitting him to do homage, appointed him, at the time of returning from the conquest of Patna, to assist Farhat Khān, and had sent him to perform the service of taking the fort of Rohtās; so that if he could not recognise the favour and the educating power of the Shāhinshāh in the manner of the truly loyal, he still might not abandon mercantile considerations and the sense of favours received, and might in return for glorious benefactions exhibit the thanksgiving of good service. For some time he was in the thornbrake of failure and was with the hand of presumption poinarding his heart and liver. As felicity was implanted in his nature he emerged from his mental disturbance at the wise words of Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfī, and applied himself to service. He brought out some of his accumulations of wealth and prepared the equipment of an army. By his courage he took possession of Caund and Shahsarām (Sasseram) which on account of the multiplicity of the affairs of State had not been given in *jāgir* to any one, and then set himself to get things in readiness (for an expedition). He was in a position to do good service when Farhat Khān and the other officers came to besiege the fort. In the course of a few days he showed his quality. The brief account of this is

133 that one day Bahādur, the son of Haibat Khān, came out of the fort of Rohtās and made a disturbance. Mozaffar Khān behaved with activity and inflicted suitable punishment on him. His elephants, etc., were captured. Merely in consequence of that happy thought (of Mozaffar) his wandering waters were brought back into the channel. Immediately the standards of trustworthiness were upreared in that quarter. About the same time the officers arrived for the siege. Mozaffar frankly took part with Farhat Khān and assisted in carrying out the plan. In a short time a ray of the royal favour visited him, and an order was issued to the effect that if he and the other officers could fix a time within which the fort would be taken, he should exert himself in that great service. If he could not fix a time and if the capture would be a work of time, he was to suspend operations, and turn his attention

to the punishment of the turbulent Afghans who were making a commotion in Bihar. If they were willing to submit they would be pardoned. Otherwise he was to inflict chastisement on them in order that it might be a lesson to others.

Moẓaffar Khān performed the prostration on receipt of the order and represented that he had not a siege-train with him, and that a period for the taking of the fort could not be fixed. The first business was to clear the country of the rubbish of rebels. This he proceeded to do in company with the imperial troops. Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān and many of the strenuous workers whom the Shāhinshāh had left in the country went with him. Muḥasan Khān, Āfāq, 'Arab Bahādur and a number of soldiers who were engaged in looking after Mun'im Khān's *jāgīr* also joined him and did good service. Moẓaffar's ability was tested, and the dust of rebellion was laid throughout the whole province. Ādam Khān Batanī fled from Ibrāhimpūr without fighting and so did Daryā Khān Kāshī from Carkān,¹ and both of them fled to Jhārkhand.

When nothing more remained to do there, the agents of Mun'im Khān grew envious of Moẓaffar Khān's success and in a shameless manner sent him away. As he had no fief assigned to him, he was forced to return to Caund and Sasseram, taking help from Khudādād Barlās and Khawāja Shamsu-d-dīn. On the way he learnt that the insolent garrison of Rohtās had taken possession of those two towns. As his fortune helped him, and his star was favourable, the dust of apprehension did not rest on the skirt of his courage, and he went with a stout heart to that quarter. By the glitter of the sword, and the strength of contrivance he freed those two places. By the help of far-seeing reason he **134** suppressed his own wishes and waited for a mystic revelation. He employed a portion of his accumulations in the work, and took pleasure in attacking and plundering. Suddenly a commotion arose in Bihar. The managers of the country coolly (*ba firāghat-i-tamām*) asked for the assistance of his presence. Moẓaffar Khān disregarded their previous behaviour and hastened to do his master's work. He rendered good service. The brief account of this is that Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān had left 'Arab Bahādur

¹ Chārgaon in Sarkār Bihar, J. II. 154.

in Maher¹ which lies between Behar and Jhārkhand. At this time Hājī and Ghāzī two brothers came out of Jhārkhand with some turbulent Afghans and gained possession of the fort. Many of the garrison were slain, but 'Arab succeeded in escaping. The officers of the province gathered together and asked for assistance to put down the disturbance. The Afghans went off to the mountain-defiles and swaggered there. The officers went there and then displayed hesitation. They could neither determine to turn back nor to advance. One day about 300 Rajputs from among the servants of Rajah Bhagwant Dās, but without him, entered boldly into the defiles, but as they did not behave rationally they were defeated. Jīā Kor, Kān Kachwāha, Dīdā Cohān and about one hundred brave men gave their lives to be plundered (were killed). When this disastrous affair occurred the officers lost firmness. They were ashamed of their former behaviour and were compelled to send able envoys to ask help from Mozaffar Khān. He quickly joined them. At this time when the vanguard of victory was rising from the orient of fortune, the officers of the army were slackening in their energy. It seems that the reason of this was a letter from the Khān-Khānān. Its purport was that Junaid was hastening to Behar from Jhārkhand, and that Tengri Bardī had been appointed with a large force of courageous men. It was not advisable to give battle hastily before the succour arrived. The letter also referred to the catastrophes of the death of Muḥammad K. Gakhar and of Yār Muḥammad Qarāwal's having been plundered, of which events a brief account has already been given.

Muzaffar Khān stood firm and replied that the rational course was to make this circumstance (the advance of Junaid) a motive for greater courage and alacrity in fighting, so that the audacious rebels might be disposed of before Junaid's arrival. It was not known if that villain would arrive for ten days yet, and there was hope that the rebels would be dispersed in the course of one day. By the daily-increasing good fortune (of Akbar) the spirit which
135 had left the leaders returned to them and they all made promises of acting in harmony, and prepared for battle. By celestial aid a

¹ J. II. 154. In Sarkār Bihar.

party of men who knew the country pointed out another road, and it was determined that the army should proceed straight against the enemy, but should do so with sufficient slowness to allow the other force to come behind the enemy by the path mentioned. All agreed to this course and the army was arranged as follows. Moẓaffar Khān commanded the centre, Fath Khān Maidānī commanded the right wing, Farḥat Khān commanded the left wing. In the vanguard were Mīrzāda ‘Alī Khān, Qarāṭāq Khān, Ḥusain Khān, Ākhta, Āfāq, Bāqī Kūlābī, Sohrāb Turkamān, ‘Arab Bahādur, Sher Muhammad Dīwāna, Kūcak Qandūzī and many other brave and strenuous men. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn was appointed, along with some brave and experienced men, to go by the other path and take the enemy in the rear. The enemy were full of confidence owing to the strength of their position and their numbers, when suddenly the victorious army arrived in front and at the same time the force in the rear came up. Their firmness of foot gave way, and their courage hid under a veil. There was a grand victory, and a large amount of plunder. The officers took steps to pursue the enemy. The latter drew up their forces in the hilly country of Rāmpūr which belongs to Jhārkhand, and faced their pursuers. The best of the gang were Ādam Batanī the son of Fath Khān, Daryā Khān Kākar, Jalāl Khān Sūr, Ḥusain Khān, Ghāzī Khān, Yūsuf Batanī, ‘Umar Khān Kākar and Maḥmūd Kāsū. Moẓaffar Khān made a skilful arrangement of his forces.

Verse.

The drums beat and the battalions deployed,
Swords flashed and dust raged,
The horsemen were intermingled in one place,
The infantry engaged in another.¹
From the blood of the brave and the dust of the troops
The earth became a ruby, and the atmosphere black.

The combatants were hotly engaged when Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and a party of active men took the enemy in the rear as on the former occasion and did valiantly. Ḥusain Khān, Ghāzī Khān, Jalāl Khān Sūr, who were among the brave men of note,

¹ *Judā*. Lucknow edition has *hama*.

fell into the dust of destruction. When the hands of the enemy grew weary of the contest they took to flight, and by the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh a great victory showed her countenance. Thanksgivings were offered up, and from cautious motives the army did not judge it advisable to remain there, and victoriously returned. Every one then went to his own place and sought repose.

When Junaid, who meditated an attack upon Bihar, heard **136** of this dominion-increasing event he ceased to advance and sought for his opportunity. Many days had not elapsed when Junaid thought he had his opportunity and proceeded to stir up a commotion in Bihar. The officers of the province gathered together in Patna and considered how they should remedy matters. They wrote to Moẓaffar Khān and asked for his help. He in reliance on the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh proceeded towards them. As he had shown resolution, good service and loyalty, a sacred rescript reached him before his arrival, and it appeared from it that a silent tongue had enlightened H. M.'s heart about his excellent performances, and that the Sarkār of Ḥajīpūr, which had been assigned in fief to Muḥammad Qulī Khān¹ Birlās, had been conferred upon him. On receiving this good news, he became a flower-gatherer in the garden of devotion, and the shoot of his spirit came to maturity. His heart expanded and his intent spread her wings. With a wide capacity he joined the officers, and exerted himself to uproot the evil and seditious. He bridged the Pun-pun and crossed it.

At this time urgent messages arrived from the Khān-Khānān to the effect that they should not be hasty in engaging Junaid as he himself had decided to come there quickly. The officers gave up their intentions and chose delay. Though Moẓaffar Khān gave them salutary counsels it was of no effect. His heart was troubled by thus coming and then turning back, and his zeal was such that he was prepared to encounter Junaid alone, when there arose a great commotion at Ḥajīpūr. He was compelled to turn aside to that quarter. The brief account of this affair is that Tāj Khān Panwār, Fath Khān Mūsāzai, Shahbāz Khān 'Arabī, Sulaimān Panwār, and Thān Rai came and put to death Mīr

¹ Who had lately died.

Mahmūd Shaukatī, who was in Hājīpūr on behalf of Mozaffar Khān, and killed about a hundred more. Of necessity Mozaffar withdrew his hand from Junaid and went off to Hājīpūr along with Khudādād Barlās, 'Arab, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and a few other lovers of service. In spite of the large number of the enemy he, with the help of the fortune which is conjoined with eternity, addressed himself to battle. As it was difficult to cross over in front of the enemy he crossed the Ganges and came to the town of Siwāna. The river Gandak was running boisterously between him and Hājīpūr, and the Afghans were exultant on account of their numbers and the smallness of the imperial forces. As he had with him zeal which is the key of enterprise, and fortune and a right intention, he put into order the means of success. In the first place Udai Karn, the zamindar of Jītāran,¹ became one of the single-minded, and, at a time when there was a crowd of the vagabonds on the other side, while on this side the chosen combatants were on the eve of crossing, and apparently the execution of the design was difficult, the said landholder became the guide of the march and said that it occurred to him that a number of his relations lived up the stream, and that this would be a means of conducting the affair to a successful issue. Also that there were strong boats to be had there. The proper course was for the victorious army to parade itself in front of the enemy and to raise a song of triumph, and that a party of alert and brave men should be nominated whom he would cross over the river during the night. When the latter had nearly arrived the army should cross over in front of the enemy, and while the contest was at its height the detachment should appear and throw the enemy into dismay. In accordance with this choice plan 300 warlike men under the command of Qāsim 'Alī Sīstānī and 'Arab Bahādur proceeded by the desert of auspiciousness. Swift-swimming couriers were appointed to convey one after the other the news of the crossing of the detachment and of its near approach. When the world became illuminated by the effulgence of the light of Akbar (*naiyir-i-akbar*) and by the great luminary (*naiyir-i-a'zam*, i.e., the sun), and it was known that that band of heroes had crossed

¹ The variant Champaran is probably correct.

the river and were near at hand, Moẓaffar Khān filled the boats with brave and experienced men and sent them across in front of the enemy under the command of Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and Khudādād Barlās. The slumbrous-fated Afghans plyed guns and bows and made a commotion. Just then the sound of the kettle-drums and big drums (*kurāka*)¹ of the detachment struck upon their ear. They were forced to take to flight. A large number of these were killed, and Hājīpūr was delivered. A large amount of booty fell into the hands of the soldiers. The rulers of Patna who from their evil nature had been spectators and not given assistance, felt ashamed. Had this gang regarded the world-adorning beauty of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, or possessed a share of practical wisdom, or picked up a crumb from the banquet of those who are faithful to their salt, they would not have gone counter to the business of their benefactor, nor have been involved in so much shame!

One of the instructive events is as follows. When by the might of eternal fortune Hājīpūr had been conquered, and the dignity of Moẓaffar Khān had been exalted, it was reported by trustworthy scouts that Fath Khān Mūsāzai, Jalāl Khān 'Arabī, Selīm Khān Barmih, Satrī and Catrī and many presumptuous Afghans were assembled on the other side of the Madahā² Gandak. Moẓaffar Khān set out to quell them. When he had encamped near the river he went off with a few of his staff to examine the river and to find a place for crossing. Though the breadth of the channel is less than the cast of a dart,³ it is very deep. While he was looking for a ford, about 200 horse were seen on the other side, and Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, 'Arab Bahādur and a body of brave men were ordered to cross at a distance and to

138 chastise that insolent and negligent troop. They went off, and the enemy becoming aware of this sent off for assistance. When the detachment showed itself the horse turned their reins and retreated to their camp. Moẓaffar Khān swiftly crossed the river

¹ *Kurka*, P. de Courteille "espece de timbale."

² The Lucknow edition has Badh Gandak, and so have the *Iqbāl-nāma* and the I. O. MSS. There is also

the Little Gandak which is called Marha Gandak. See Beames' map, A. S. B. for 1885, p. 182.

³ *Gazandāz*. *Agaz* is a dart or arrow.

and joined his detachment. His sole thought was that he would not be under obligations to those who made a traffic of their service. Just then, the enemy who were retreating were reinforced and came forward to do battle. From the numbers of the enemy and the paucity of the imperial troops, and from ill-fate and the cowardice of the soldiers, the troops dispersed. Many of them in their confusion fell into the water and were drowned. Mozaffar Khān was nearly throwing himself into the waves. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn seized his rein and went off towards the hill-country,¹ and he sent a swift messenger to the camp, thinking that perhaps the strenuous heroes might come up. The enemy set themselves to pursue, and made a tumult. Hājī Pahlwān, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, 'Arab and some more companions—about fifty in number—continually turned round and used their bows. In this way they made the enemy slacken in their pursuit. When day was far advanced (*lit.* put her head in her skirt) and Mozaffar Khān's position became more critical, the fortune of the Shāhinshāh shone forth, and victory showed itself.

The detail of this Divine aid is as follows. There was a noise in the camp that Mozaffar Khān was killed, and every one was about to fly into the country, when the messenger arrived. They plucked up courage and set about remedying the state of things. Khudādād Barlās, Mihr 'Alī and many other brave lovers of battle to the number of about 300 crossed the river and went forward. The same messenger conveyed the news of their approach. They² scented the breeze of success, tightened their rein, and raised the dust of battle.

Verse.

Such fight and struggle were waged till night,
There was no hand which did not inflict a wound.
You'd say all the Age had come out (to fight),
That hill and plain had commingled.

At this time of life-shedding when the enemy in spite of victory were becoming feeble on account of the heat of their cuirasses and their great exertions, there was heard the noise of the

¹ *Kohistān*. Perhaps here the word means forest.

² Mozaffar and his few companions.

drums of the victorious army, and this at once robbed them of their courage. They fled together with their evil fortune that night, and by the celestial assistance the breeze of victory blew on the rose-garden of the imperial servants' hopes. Such a victory showed itself after such a defeat! Joy after pain painted the eyes with collyrium. There was fresh life and salvation and abundant booty, and great rejoicing.

One of the instructive occurrences was that Shāikh Jamāl of Parsarūr¹ was one of those who warred against the carnal soul.

139 While the contest was going on he fell on the ground and became insensible. When he fell in with Moẓaffar Khān he performed the prostration towards the Shāhinshāh, and guided men to the recognition of this teacher of horizons. When they inquired what had happened, he explained that when he was in a trance he had a vision of the world's lord (Akbar) being mounted on the steed of fortune and equipped for battle, and bringing the good news of victory. The courage of the enemy had been scattered by the majesty of that cavalier of the field of glory. "With the hand of kindness he raised me from the dust of unconsciousness, and encouraged me, and I came to myself. I became possessed of great power and I flew with the wings of (mystic) assistance and bought as a gift the news of fortune. He turned their rein and made them seized of victory." When had those hirelings² of defeat the heart or the ear to listen to this celestial intimation? They regarded this demonstration of truth as a fabrication, or an imagination, and considered that it was impossible for them to escape from their terrible position. What question then could there be of victory? Suddenly the victorious army arrived and gave news of fresh life to the despairing, and the delight of new honour to those who had given way. By the shining of the Divine aid a lamp of vision was kindled for the superficial. Those who by good fortune and farsightedness were, without having seen miracles, acquainted with the majestic qualities of the adorer of truth's assemblage (Akbar), and were worshippers of the wonders of power, returned

¹ J. II. 320. It is in Siālkot in the Panjab and is the Pasrūr of the I. G. Moẓaffar was once collector of this pargana.

² *Rasmīān-i-hazīmatī*. Rasmī, a pensioner or domestic, perhaps "those accustomed to defeat."

thanksgiving to the Creator on beholding these lights of direction. The faction who were wrapped in the veil of self-conceit and were sitting in darkness on the hill of presumption had a window of illumination opened for them. Next day they went to the Afghans' village and plundered it. They got immense booty, and the tumult of the wicked was at once quelled.

Among the occurrences was that the Afghans aforesaid took refuge with Tāj Khān Panwār and recruited themselves. By his evil-planning the dust of sedition rose again, and abundance of wealth, want of wisdom, and a plethora of scoundrels led to a seeking for battle. Mozaffar Khān exercised caution and recrossed the Madaha-Gandak. He established himself in a place surrounded on three sides by that river, and on the fourth by a large tank. He engaged in collecting soldiers and munitions of war. The presumptuous gang waxed bolder from this retreat. They pitched their camp (*dāīra*) in front of the imperial camp, but owing to the ruggedness of the ground nothing resulted except impotent longing, and the more they tried, the deeper did the thorn of disappointment pierce the foot of their desire. When for some days the fortune of the Shāhinshāh had sported in this manner, it again put on beauty. Soldiers assembled and many of the landholders set their hearts on rendering assistance. The construction of a bridge was rightly considered to be a means of victory, and so was put in hand. Inasmuch as prudence is the ornament of good fortune it was considered that perhaps something bad might happen when the troops were crossing the river and were not in battle-array. So it was thought that during the night some active men should dig a trench in front of the bridge, and make a bulwark with **140** the excavated earth so that the soldiers might have time to deploy. No one was inclined heartily to engage in this enterprise. When Khawāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfī perceived that the Turks were irresolute, and that the commander of the army was at a loss, he in his courage and efficiency took the task upon himself. He carried it through in a short time. The Afghans from feline craftiness left their camp empty and retired to a corner¹ with the idea that when the imperial army

¹ گرنج *gurinj*, a wrinkle, a corner.
There is the variant برعندج and the

Lucknow ed. has in margin بزغ
bazagh weir. *Gurinj* seems right, the

crossed they would think that the enemy had run away and so proceed to plunder the camp. Perhaps at this time of negligence they would be able to prevail. Moẓaffar Khān practised caution and appointed a large number of soldiers and camp-followers (*urdu-bāzārī rā*, men of the camp-bazar) to provide for safety under the circumstances which the black-hearted wretches had arranged for. The Afghans became aware of what he had done and did not put their stratagem into execution. When a large force (of Afghans) attacked those who had crossed, the infantry lost heart and fled. Their cowardice weakened the spirit of the cavalry and they too broke. The rush of the flyers broke the bridge, and they fell into the river. About 300 horse and foot were drowned. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, Khudādād Barlās and other brave men who were ambitious of honour shot arrows and twice turned back the enemy. The third time, when the zealous had come to be perturbed, an arrow struck the horse of Husain Khān, the leader of the enemy, and he fell to the ground. His men became confused, and no harm came to the tiger-hearted defenders. After much exertion the bridge was repaired, and the imperial servants crossed the river in a majestic manner. The Afghans gave way and retired to Tāj Khān's strong position. Moẓaffar Khān pursued them, and when the victorious army had nearly arrived, scouts reported that many of the Afghan officers were superintending in the neighbourhood the construction of a moat and did not imagine that the imperial army could march such a distance so quickly. Moẓaffar Khān left Khudādād Barlās and some other strenuous men to protect the camp, and set about capturing those wicked and presumptuous men. Suddenly he fell upon them, and after a brief engagement the breeze of Divine aid arose. The enemy thought it best to fly and many of them were sent to annihilation. Hājī Khān Pahlwān cut off the head of Tāj Khān Panwār without knowing who he was, and brought it in. Jamāl Khān

141 Ghilzī, who was one of their noted men, was brought in alive and many were made prisoners¹ of the sword and caught in the noose. A great boon of fortune was vouchsafed. The darkness of night and the density of the forest prevented the commanders from laying

fact being that the Afghans hid themselves in an ambuscade.

¹ Perhaps this means that some were beheaded and some hanged.

hands on the abodes of the enemy. But many brave men reached the spot and obtained much booty. Next morning the army proceeded against the Afghan camp, and before it arrived the enemy fled in confusion and threw themselves into the river. What they thought to be their safety was the cause of their destruction. A number escaped with a hundred pangs from the whirlpool to the shore of safety, and the foundation of the scoundrels was devastated.

One of the occurrences was that when this disturbance was quelled, Satrī and Catrī joined with some of the Afghans and took possession of the country of Tegra.¹ That is a cultivated district thirty *kos* long and twenty *kos* broad, which lies opposite Monghyr from which it is separated by the Ganges. On Mozaffar Khān's hearing of this commotion he took with him Wazīr Jamīl, Khudā dād Barlās, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, M. Jalālu-d-dīn, Bunyād Beg Khan, Tengri Qulī and many other combative lovers of service and went off to extirpate this gang. When he arrived there, the audacious ones prepared for battle. A great fight took place, and Fath Khān, who was the head of those men, fell bravely together with 79 leading men, and that territory also came into possession.

When the flag of Mozaffar Khān's fortune was waving high from his devotion and exertions, Mun'im Khān did not desire that he should remain in the province. He sent an urgent message to him to the effect that he should immediately proceed towards the threshold of the Caliphate. This order for leaving that fertile country came to him at a time when the period of labour and unsuccess had been put an end to and that of enjoyment had arrived.

¹ I am indebted to the Collector of Monghyr, Mr. Adam, for the identification of this name. The text has Magra مگرو, but there is the variant Tegra تگرو and this occurs also in one I. O. MS. I. O. MS. 235 has تگر without any dots. It is clear then, I think, that the place meant is thāna Tegra on the N. bank of the Ganges and on the N.-W. bank of the Ganges and in the N.-W. part of the Begum Serai Sub-

division. In the Āin it is entered as in Sarkār Hājīpūr, and under the form of Patkehra, J. II. 155. But there is the variant Tekhra or Tegra, and Mr. Beames has identified Patkehra as "the old pargana of Tegharā lying along the left bank of the Ganges," and which he states is now known as Mulkī, though the town of Tegharā still retains its old name. Tegra is west of Monghyr town, and nearly opposite Sūrajgarh.

He was embarrassed by this letter, for the sacred order was that whenever the Khān-Khānān gave him leave he was to hasten to the imperial court. While he was in this state of inward disturbance, a gracious order arrived to the effect that the sole intention of H.M.'s apparent neglect was to guide him aright. Let him not be troubled in his mind, and let him feel that he was regarded with real favour and be zealous in the performance of his services in that country. If the Khān-Khānān gave him leave he should not come to court till he received an order summoning him. On receipt of this revelation Mozaffar Khān's devotion rose high and a spiritual window was opened for the superficial. After rendering of thanks publicly and privately, he came to Hājīpūr and spread the carpet of enjoyment. The pleasant paths of joy were trod anew. As the jewel of his fidelity sparkled, and as he came from the arid desert of misunderstanding to the garden of appreciation, in a short time the day of his fortune appeared. He became ardent in

142 good service. The farsighted Khedive recognised his services, and his confidence in him increased. He made over to him the guarding of that wide province from the ferry of Causa to Garhī. An order was issued that the soldiers of that province, great and small, should act according to his advice. He from his devotion and wisdom observed the canons of sovereignty and the laws of the Caliphate, and became an adorer of justice.

One of the occurrences was H.M.'s showing graciousness to the officers of Gujrat. The praiseworthy nature of the prince of horizons has flashes which assist those who are deficient members of the court of realm and religion. He also exalts those who strive for sincerity to higher degrees of trust. He continually by the elixir of his glance of favour extracts the gold from the earth, and the pearl from the mud, and regards the commingling of spiritual and material feasts as his duty. Especially does he do so to those whose proper actions are a mirror of their heart's mysteries. In a short space of time the faces of those who sit secluded are unveiled and clothed with beauty. His increasing the dignity of the officers of Gujrat was a new instance of this.

When in the first expedition the standards of fortune had cast the shade of justice over that country, this set of men had by the

guidance of their good fortune rubbed the foreheads of supplication. But from the downfall of fortune and innate wickedness, as they had not loyalty in the core of their hearts, and their interior and exterior were not knit together and mutually supporting, many of them from short-sightedness ran away, and others were on the point of doing so. The Khedive of the Universe from his abundant graciousness, and his gift of appreciation, made allowance for the common nature of humanity, and for the special circumstance of the education of those darkened intellects, and for some time withheld them from employment. In this august year he perceived in them signs of repentance and cast a special glance upon them. He distinguished 'Itimād Khān, who was conspicuous for prudence and gravity, by special favours and committed to him the charge of the Darbār¹ (*darbār-i-mushkoī*) in order that he might minutely supervise that great place which is an ensample of heavenly things. Especially he had the charge of the jewels and decorated utensils. Ulugh² Khān Habshī was caressed and exalted by a suitable fief, and Malik³ Ashraf was appointed to the governorship of the city of Thānesar, and Wajīh-al-mulk was sent to superintend certain crown-estates in Gujrat.

One of the occurrences was that Ṣādiq Khān came and did homage at court. The Shāhinshāh's kindness accepted his excuses and encompassed him with favours. In the expedition to the eastern provinces he had been punished for bad service and sent into the desert of exile so that he might learn wisdom by punish- 143
ment, and know that in the service of kings no distinction should be made between little and great employments, and that obedience must be paid with one's whole heart and energy. Although the sacred order ostensibly was that he should travel about in the desert of search and seek for a choice elephant, and that if he could not find one which could equal that incomparable one, he should

¹ The epithet *mashkoī* might seem to imply that 'Itimād was put in charge of the female apartments, but this 'Itimād was not 'Itimād the eunuch, and the context as well as the *Iqbāl-nāma* show that what 'Itimād was put in charge of was

the receptions and the jewels, etc. See also B. 386 and the *Maasir* I. 97.

² B. 437.

³ Ashraf in text, but the name has occurred before, and is Ashraq, and the variants show this.

pay the penalty,¹ yet in reality he dismissed him to the school for learning devotion and knowledge of service, so that the pride of skill might depart from him, and that he might always choose supplication. He in that time measured the heights and depths of fortune and then turned the face of discipleship to the holy court. By the prostration of repentance the rust was cleared from the jewel of his sincerity and he produced one hundred elephants as a fine. As he clearly had marks of truthfulness he was received with forgiveness and favour. Who strove and did not obtain! Who made his heart clean, and did not get his heart's desire! He hath opened the door of bounty and given an invitation to all! One of the occurrences was that Husain Khān showed ingratitude and received the recompense thereof. To whomsoever comes a day of destruction and a time of affliction, there comes first a darkening of the reason. His thoughts go to ruin and he thinks his loss his gain, and remains afar off from good actions, and turns aside from the highway of auspiciousness!

Verse.

When a man's fortune is bad
Nothing that he does succeeds.

A fresh proof of this is afforded by the commotion of this simpleton. He was formerly with Bairām K. After that when he became a servant of the court, because the ocean of graciousness was commoved and the market of appreciation was brisk, his rashness was purchased at the rate of courage, and his election of service was taken to be sincerity, and he was encompassed by favours. And though he did not know how to keep numbers² in order (had not administrative skill), still, in the hope that he would learn (or perhaps be grateful), he was given the lofty position of an Amir. At the time when the august standards were about to proceed to the eastern provinces, his evil fate withheld him from that service, and when he brought an abashed countenance to

¹ Jarimāna "Fine." See B. 131.

² Intizām-i-kāgrat namī dānist.
"Did not know how to arrange
multiplicities." Probably the mean-

ing is that he was an ascetic or recluse and not fit for social functions. This Husain K. is Badayūni's friend the 'Tukriya (Patcher).

court, the Khedive of the world, in punishment for his offence, refused him the bliss of paying his respects. This was a time when he should have increased the zeal of his service, but from excessive atrabiliousness and inverted fortune, he broke the thread of consideration, and from abundant wilfulness he let the things of the world and the materials of fortune go to wreck and ruin, and took the path of solitude (*tajarrad*). The wise prince on beholding such lack of wisdom had compassion on his condition and bestowed favours on him, and released his *Jāgīr*, and sent him to arrange about "the branding." When he got further away from the carpet of intimacy he in the darkness of his understanding set about attacking and plundering the country. From madness or from craft he would say that all his activity in this respect was in order to carry out the business of the branding! Plundering as he went, he hastened to Basantpūr, which belongs to Sarkār Kumāon, **144** as the rumour of mines and of abundance in that country had raised a tumult in his mind. Inasmuch as the stewards of creation have so ordained that the evil-doers and evil-devisers against the Calphate should be strenuously active in procuring their own punishment so that they may get their retribution by their own instrumentality, this infatuated man hurried on his own ruin. He lost the thread of plan and made war in that country without system and was defeated. He was wounded by arrow and bullet, and had met with his retribution before the circumstances of his position were made known to the royal hearing. When the news of his commotion arrived, Ṣādiq Khān together with some of the Saiyids of Bārha and Amroha and others were sent to him. Though owing to his severe wound he was somewhat cured of his infatuation and vain thoughts, he became still wiser on hearing of the victorious force (of Akbar). The wicked vagabonds fled away from him, and by the exertions of his well-wishers he saw fit to get into a boat and be conveyed to Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān. Perhaps by the intervention of the Commander-in-Chief his offences would be clothed with the scarf of pardon! He got into a boat in the confines of Garh¹ muktesar and went on quickly. Alert

¹ Gadha muknessar in text. It is an ancient town in the Meerut

district and is situated on the Ganges, S. I. G. XII. 162.

men arrested him in the neighbourhood of the town of Mārḥara,¹ and under orders from H.M. brought him to Agra, and left him in his quarters² there and then hastened to court. In a short time he from his mortal wound put his face under the veil of concealment (*i.e.*, died). Apparently the Shāhinshāh was aware of his condition and out of respect did not wish him to be ashamed on his last journey.³

One of the occurrences was that Ḥakīm Abu-l-fath, Ḥakīm Hamām and Ḥakīm Nūru-d-dīn⁴ the sons of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Razzāq Gīlanī, who was eminently skilled in the arts of observation (*naẓr*) and of drawing horoscopes, came to court in the middle of Amardād, Divine month, and were exalted by daily-increasing favours. When Gīlān came into the possession⁵ of the rulers of Irān and Khān Aḥmad the ruler thereof fell into prison from not understanding matters, Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Razzāq⁶ owing to his right thinking and true religion died under the pain of confinement, and these young men took refuge at this court. Their wisdom and felicity increased under the patronage of H.M. Though all three brothers were the distinguished of the age for the customary excellencies, yet Ḥakīm 'Abu-l-fath was specially remarkable for his tact, his knowledge of the world, and for his power to read the lines of the forehead and many other liberal qualities.

¹ In the Etah district, N. W. P., I. G. XVII, 204, where it is called Mārahra.

² *i.e.*, in Ṣādiq K's house. See Badayūnī, Lowe, 224.

³ See my wife's article in Calcutta Review for January 1894. According to A. F., Ḥusain K. was on his way to Mun'im K. (in Bengal) when he was arrested, but according to Badayūnī he was going to his home in Patiālī which is in the Etah district and not very far from

Mārḥara. Both statements may be correct. The meaning seems to be that Akbar, who was then at Fathpūr Sikrī, did not insist on Ḥusain's being brought there, but allowed him to stay at Agra.

⁴ He was a poet and wrote under the name of Qarārī. He was killed in the Bengal mutiny about the same time as Moẓaffar.

⁵ This was in 974 (1567).

⁶ B. 424.

CHAPTER XXVII.

VISIT TO THE HĪJĀZ BY SOME OF THE VEILED LADIES OF THE CALIPHATE. 145

That veil of chastity, etc., Gulbadan Begam the paternal aunt of H.M. the Shāhinshāh had long ago made a vow to visit the holy places, but on account of the insecurity of the ways, and of the affairs of the world, she had not been able to accomplish her intention. At this time when the delightful country of India was an abode of peace, and the vagabonds' abode of Gujrat had become inhabited by right-thinking lovers of justice, and the masters¹ of the European islands, who were a stumbling-block in the way of travellers to the HĪjāz, had become submissive and obedient, and the renown of the justice and piety of the world's lord had spread from Qāf to Qāf, and the classes of mankind had, owing to H.M.'s constant care and dispensing of justice, come into the reposeful home of peace, the luminary of longing arose in the orient of the heart of that shining chaste one and broke the repose of her noble mind. As the rays of truth impinged upon the antechamber of the celestial soul (of Akbar), he, in spite of his close union with her, did not prefer his wishes to hers. Moreover all his desire is that every class of mankind may become religious and worship God in accordance with the measure of their faith. He sent with her a large amount of money and goods and gave her permission to depart. In connection with this opportunity a number of inmates of the harem of fortune were also excited by the same longing, and the sovereign poured into the lap of each the money that they wanted and so made the burden of their desires light. The names of the chaste ones who went in attendance upon that unique one of the field of spirituality are as follows: 1st—The veiled one of the curtains of fortune, Selīma Sultān Begam; 2nd—and 3rd—Hājī Begam and Gul'azār Begam² the daughters of M.

¹ *Amīrān-ī-jazāir-i-firang*. *Jazāir* perhaps here means peninsulas or countries.

² Kāmran had three daughters, and Ferishta after mentioning Kāmran's death tells us whom they married.

Kāmran; 4th—Sultān Begam the wife of M. ‘Askarī; 5th—Umm Kulṣūm Khānam the grand-daughter of H. H. Gulbadan Begam; 6th—Gulnār Āghā, who was one of the wives of H.M. Firdūs Makānī (Bābar); 7th, 8th and 9th—Bībī Ṣafīya, and Bībī Sarw Sahī, and Shāham Āghā, who were among the servants of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī; 10th—Salīma Khānam, daughter of Khizr Khwāja Khān. In the end of Mihr, Divine month, 8 or 9 October 1575, this auspicious party fastened the litters on the camels of joy, and a great number of men who had received food and travelling expenses followed in their wake. Out of respect to the head of the travellers (*i.e.*, Gulbadan B.), that nosegay of fortune Prince Sultān Murād was directed to attend upon her up to the shore of the southern ocean. The first day they halted at Dābar,¹ and at that place the pearl of the diadem of sovereignty and the heir-apparent of the Caliphate Prince Sultān Selim arrived **146** with many nobles and paid his respects. Inasmuch as the far-seeing heart of the leader of the caravan (*i.e.*, Gulbadan B.) considered that harm might possibly happen to the new fruit of the Caliphate (Prince Murād) on such a long journey, on account of his tender age she expressed a wish that he might be kept back. Her suggestion was approved, and by H.M.’s orders Bāqī Khān, Rūmī Khān,² ‘Abdu-r-Raḥmān Beg³ and some other vigilant servants of the court were sent along with her, and an order was given that the great Amirs, the officers of every territory, the guardians of the passes, the watchmen of the borders, the river-police, and the harbour-masters should perform good service for the travellers.⁴

One was Gulrukh; she married Ibrāhīm H.M. and was alive in 1614. Another married M. ‘Abdu-r-Raḥmān, who was a brother’s son of Ḥaidar M.; and the third married Shāh Fakhīru-d-dīn of Maashad.

¹ Apparently should be Dāir, four *kos* from Fathpūr Sikrī. See Badayūnī, Lowe, 174.

² Rūmī K. Ustād Jalabī, B. 441. Perhaps the word is Ḥalabī, *i.e.*, of

Aleppo. Or he may be the Jalā of A. N. III. 390, who is called Jalābī in the Iqbāl-nāma. Jalābī might mean horse-dealer, and A. F. tells us that this was Jalā’s original occupation. He may have gone with Gulbadan B. as an interpreter.

³ Perhaps the nephew of Ḥaidar M. who married one of Kāmran’s daughters.

⁴ See my wife’s “History of

One of the occurrences was the dispatch of Hājī Ḥabību-llah Kāshī¹ (*i.e.*, of Kashan in Persia) to Goa. At the time when the country of Gujrat became included among the imperial dominions, and when many of the ports of the country came into possession, and the governors of the European ports became submissive (*lit.*, shakers of the chain of supplication), many of the curiosities and rarities of the skilled craftsmen of that country became known to H.M. Accordingly the Hājī, who for his skill, right thinking and powers of observation was one of the good servants of the court, was appointed to take with him a large sum of money, and the choice articles of India to Goa, and to bring for H.M.'s delectation the wonderful things of that country. There were sent along with him many clever craftsmen, who to ability and skill added industry, in order that just as the wonderful productions of that country (Goa and Europe) were being brought away, so also might rare crafts be imported (into Akbar's dominions).

One of the occurrences was the establishment of seven watches² (*caukīs*). Though the servants of the threshold of fortune were always on guard, and were continually rendering service, and were always awaiting the sacred command and regarded their constant attendance as Divine worship, yet there was no fixed system. Those who bound the girdle of devotion on the waist of their hearts and were pure from any thought of profit or loss, and also that body of energetic men of a mercantile disposition who knew their profit to consist in the traffic of service, paid no attention to times and seasons, but regarded all of them as opportunities of attaining their object. They sought to be continually in the

Humāyūn." O. T. F. 1902 for an account of Gulbadan B. Three of the ladies who accompanied her were her nieces, Salīma being her sister's child (and Akbar's wife) and Hājī B. and Gul'azār being daughters of her half-brother Kāmran. Bāqī Khān was apparently the elder brother of Adham Khān. The 10th lady Salīma Khānān was apparently Gulbadan Begam's step-daughter. The fact of her being styled Khānām

seems to show that her father was the Khiz̄r Khwāja who was said to be a descendant of the kings of Kashghar or of Moghalistan.

¹ One of the things he brought back was an organ. See Badāyūnī, Lowe, 299, and also *infra* 228 of text.

² See Ain 8, p. 257 of B., where details are given about the distribution of the watches. See also B. 48, end of Ain 17.

Presence. But those who did not belong to these two classes did not render hearty service, but from folly and conceit, and lethargy, thought that loss was gain and indulged in vain thoughts. They took the path of sloth and accumulated eternal chastisement. At this time, which was the smiling commencement of the springtide of dominion, the institution of the seven watches shed a ray on the antechamber of the holy soul. All the servants who held office in the court were distributed into seven divisions, each of which was on guard for twenty-four hours. One of the grandees was appointed to command each division so that he might superintend everything during that period, and arrange the diversity of affairs. Also an accomplished courtier was made Mīr 'Arzī (master of petitions) so that he might during the time of his watch represent
147 the petitions and request of mankind without reference to his own ease, and also the public be freed from the pain of waiting and from various troubles. By this act of graciousness the classes of mankind attained their objects, and the wishes of the people which might have remained unspoken owing to the greatness of the Sultanate were brought before H.M. The rank of the loyal was exalted, the market of the talented became brisk, and there was a day of testing for the servants. The slothful were guided to the domain of activity, and the ignorant and the speakers out of season emerged from their folly. Fresh lustre was given to the court, and things were knit together.

One of the occurrences was the decline¹ of the fortunate star of Mīrzā Koka. Inasmuch as the royal graciousness had raised him from nothingness to the zenith of dignity, and had made him during long service a partaker in the secrets of the holy banquet, he was summoned from Gujrat, post haste,² in order that the business of the branding might be begun with the leaders. Another reason for summoning him was that M. Sulaimān was preparing to come to court, and it was desired that M. Koka should be present at the

¹ B. 326, top lines; *c.f.* Elliot V. 393.

Bādayūnī says he was punished for speaking the truth about the branding, the *Krorīs*, etc.

² The text has *bā aspān* with horses, but the variant *ba aspbām* is probably correct, for Bādayūnī II. 214 has *bā ilghār*.

entertainment. He arrived on the day of Ashtād 26 Mihr, Divine month, and was received with boundless favours. As the ebullition of the favour of kings does not agree with every disposition, he from the wine of success, from his distance from the carpet of honour, and the crowd of flatterers, let his foot slip in the path of prudence. In the first place he used language about the affair of the branding—which is the disciplinary ornament of mankind, and the mode of guidance to the right path—which men of ordinary prudence would not use, and was still less becoming in pure loyalists. As the gracious sovereign had educated him like his obedient children he made as if he did not hear what he had said. When good counsel was of no avail, H.M., fearing in his love that he might fall into irreparable mischief, and might also lead others astray, joined the laws of supremacy with kindness and for a time degraded him from the position of an Amīr. From extreme caution he excluded him from his society and assigned him a place in his own ¹ garden (*i.e.*, M. Koka's) where he might abide in comfort with all his property, take a warning, and appreciate H.M.'s kindness and teaching.

One of the occurrences was that some persons from lack of understanding, and imitateness, became senseless from wine drinking. The royal clemency cured them. When the institution of the branding became current the petty shop of fraud lost its custom. The opportunity of service fell into the hands of the energetic whilst the slothful were depressed. Those who had a warlike spirit and who from being honourable and fond of reputation looked after their servants had an opportunity of showing their talents. From keen-sightedness they performed the branding and so heightened their own fortune. The worthless who were slaves to pelf and collected gold instead of troops fell into evil **148** case. Among them, Shujāāt Khān, M. 'Abdu-l-lah, Mīr M'uzzu-l-Mulk, Qāsim Khān Kohbar, Dost Muḥammad Bābā Dost, Muḥammad Amīn the accountant (*ṣāhib taujī*), were excluded from the Presence and sent to Bengal to Mun'im Khān Khānān in order that they might get fiefs there suitable to their condition. For the sublime nature deals thus with criminals, and clothes with the scarf of

¹ He was sent from Fathpūr to Agra and there kept under surveillance in his own garden.

beneficence the torn honour of such people. Though superficialists thought this to be favour and a mark¹ of grace, yet those who had inward vision knew this to be great disfavour and a heavy punishment inflicted by displeasure. For the pure-hearted and devoted know no more excruciating torment than that of being excluded from the visible Presence, when this is the result of wrath. Though the far-seeing ones of the spiritual world regarded this treatment of a faction who had not reached the high rank of pure devotion as a kind of graciousness, yet in the eyes of the masters of investigation, who are the special of the special in the symposium of wisdom, it is certain that to leave a mistaken crew to their own devices and to treat them as cured and so not administer medicine to them, but to abandon them to their own ideas, is one of the greatest methods of displeasure.

¹ Perhaps this is allegorical. The wine was the wine of infatuation. The word *canīn* (this kind of)

seems to refer to M. Koka's obstinacy.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

• M. SULAIMĀN'S PROCEEDING TOWARDS THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S COURT.

(This chapter begins with some reflections upon the final prosperity of the good, and the final ruin of the wicked which marked Akbar's reign. The author then proceeds to state that the adventures of M. Sulaimān are an instance of these things. It is noteworthy that these reflections do not occur in the Lucknow edition. They occupy over eleven lines).

From the time that H.M. Firdūs Makānī conferred upon M. Sulaimān the government of Badakhshān, he used to be obedient and did good service, but inasmuch as outward prosperity, evil company and the friendship of flatterers lower the lamp of wisdom and dim the eye of counsel, wholesome truth-speakers had no honour in his presence, and empty, evil-disposed encomiasts were in great request. He did not understand his own good, nor did he allow another to show it to him. If any one from intensity of goodwill became his own enemy and uttered words of truth, he was obliged, on account of the prince's unwillingness to listen, to place his head in the collar of grief. Accordingly as the Mīrzā found the defiles of the hill-country of Badakhshān too straitened for his desires, he dropped from his hand the thread of obedience. From darkness of intellect and perversity of fortune he in the beginning of this reign raised the head of presumption, and gave himself the name of majesty (called himself king?) and formed the design of taking Kabul, as has already been briefly narrated. Though the Khedive of the universe, owing to his being behind the veil, paid no attention to this, and the imperial servants, on account of the multiplicity of the affairs of the extensive country of India, did not regard it, yet the stewards of fate were there and, according to the measure of his deeds, gave him to drink of the wine of misfortune. In order to complete retribution, and to illustrate the sublime graciousness of the Shāhinshāh, they caused him to visit as a pilgrim and a suppliant the gate of princes. Inasmuch as I desire to water the garden of speech, I proceed to give some account of these calamities according as one after the other emerged

from the privy-chamber of destiny. The first was the arrival of the Khānim.¹ The dust of contention between her and Haram Begam rose high, and the seed of savagery was sown in the land. Haram Begam was the daughter of Sultān Wais of Kūlāb of the Qibcāq tribe and who rose² high by the patronage of Sultān Maḥmūd M. When they married her to M. Sulaimān she showed dexterity and skill in the administration of the country, and the management of the army, and her influence came to such a height that the Mīrzā made over to her even the infliction of punishments (sīāsathā), from the obligation of which he could not free himself.³ Khānim Muḥtarima had the name of Khānim and was the daughter of Shāh Muḥammad Sultan Kāshgharī. She was married to M. Kāmrañ, and from Kabul was proceeding to Kāshghar. On the way she passed through Badakhshān. M. Sulaimān's passions became roused and he sought her in marriage. Haram Begam became jealous of her, and anticipated matters by giving her in marriage to her own son M. Ibrāhīm. From this time evil thoughts took possession of them (both). A brief account of these will be given. Another thing which disorganized Badakhshān was that this faction (the Khānim's) stained the skirt of Haram Begam's chastity by insinuations about her and Haidar 'Alī Beg who was her beloved brother. The Begam's great attention and kindness to him emboldened them to make such frivolous remarks. M. Ibrāhīm from the intoxication of youth put that innocent man (Haidar) to death merely on account of those scandal-mongers, and became subjected to eternal contri-

150 tion. Another cause of injury to the Badakhshīs was the Begam's predominance. She acted without consideration or appreciativeness, and quitting altogether the path of policy—which is the foundation of social matters—paid no attention in her punishments to time and place, or to propriety. When the dust of the

¹ The Khānim was the daughter of Shāh Muḥammad by Khādīja Sultān Khānim the fourth daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Khān, Bābar's uncle (Mrs. Beveridge's History of Humāyūn, p. 247, and T. R., Ross, 330). Her father was killed (T. R., Ross, p. 452) and her mother had to leave Kāshghar. She died on the

way to Badakhshān, and her children went on to Kabul where by Haidar's influence Muḥtarima was married to Kāmrañ. (T. R., 451.)

² I think this clause refers to the father and not the daughter.

³ Apparently the meaning is that he could not or should not have delegated such duty.

fabricators of lies had been laid, the Begam mingled revenge with stratagem and exerted herself to destroy the officers of the kingdom who had spread the calumnious reports. Among the things which caused loss to the inhabitants of the country was the fatal calamity of M. Ibrāhīm, of which a short account has already been given. When she heard of this heart-breaking sorrow the Begam became indignant with all the Badakhshians who were in the expedition, She abused the Khānim, and treated her advent as a bad omen. and often said to her in private and public conversations, "You were a traveller, I picked you up, intending to do you good, and I cherished you. I did not know your qualities." Such was the language she used, and which only the foolish indulge in. Her sole idea was that the Khānim would be disgusted by such treatment and would go to Kāshghar, and that she herself would bring up Shāhrukḥ. The Khānim from apprehensions of being separated from Shāhrukḥ cast aside all other considerations and treated those cutting reproaches as if she heard them not. But she always indulged in the luxury of the thoughts of revenge. Another thing which increased the internal dissensions (*nifāq*) of the people of Badakhshān was the arrival of Cūcak Khānim the wife of 'Abdu-r-Rashīd Khān of Kāshghar with her two sons Ṣūfī Sultān¹ and Abū S'aīd Sultān for the purpose of mourning for M. Ibrāhīm. After her condolences and sympathy were offered, Haram Begam's mourning was taken off, but when the ceremony was over she from excessive grief resumed it. Cūcak Khānim was displeased at this, and set herself to blaming her, and being nearly related to the Khānim she espoused her cause. She often said that Haram Begam should not abandon ancestral customs (*tora*), and should not abate one tittle of the respect due to the Khānim, and should take² a lower seat in assemblies.

¹ This chapter adds something to the information given in T. R., Ross and Elias, p. 120. Ṣūfī Sultān's proper name according to Mr. Elias was Adham Sultan, and he was the fifth son of 'Abdu-r-Rashīd. Cūcak must have come to Badakhshān during her husband's life if she came to condole with M. Sulaimān and

Haram for their son's death, for he was killed in 967 and according to Mr. Elias 'Abdu-r-Rashīd did not die till 973. The name of Abu S'aīd as a son is not mentioned by Mr. Elias, but Raḥīm is.

² Pustī-batalabad. The I. O. MSS. have peshī nataḷabad, "should not demand the chief place."

Another thing which rekindled the fire of dissension among the Badakhshians was that Mīr Nizāmī¹ Atālīq of M. Shāhrukh, and a large number of the nobles of Badakhshān, and Shaikh Bābāi Wālī—who craftily made the garb of a dervish the tongue of his mendacity—raised up Sūfī Sultān the son of Cūcak B. the wife of ‘Abdu-r-Rashīd Khān of Kāshghar, and in the abode of trickery of the said dervish, which they called a hospice (*khānqāh*), took an oath together that they would erase the entry of Hāram Begam’s life from the book of the world (would kill her) and would consign M. Sulaimān to the corner of contempt. At this time one of the conspirators disclosed the plot to the Mīrzā (Sulaimān). Immediately

151 ly the latter hastened off to Farkhār² along with Waqqāṣ Sultān who was an excellent hostage, and Hāram Begam went off to Kūlāb in order that she might prepare for war and obtain a remedy against the intrigues of the Kāshgharians. When the Khānim (Cūcak apparently) heard of this crime (the conspiracy) she felt ashamed and sent for the presumptuous intriguer (Sūfī Sultān) and reproached him. The misguided young man answered that his foot had slipped on account of the evil imaginations of Mīr Nizāmī and some of the evil-disposed Badakhshīs and of that fair-seeming but inwardly bad dervish. Cūcak Khānim was ashamed and went off with her sons to Kāshghar. She wrote a letter of excuse in which she narrated her own innocence and the evil thoughts of that stirrer up of strife (Mīr Nizāmī?). When M. Sulaimān learnt the real facts he sent prudent men and made his apologies (for suspecting Cūcak B.) and asked for an interview. Cūcak Khānim sent Sūfī Sultān and her people to Kāshghar, and for purposes of union halted with ‘Abu S‘aīd Sultān and Raḥīm Khān. The Mīrzā and Hāram Begam came there and held a friendly banquet. In order to strengthen the foundations of concord the Khānim³ married her eldest daughter to Abu S‘aīd

¹ Called Mīr N’zā nī at A. N. III. 267, and described as husband of Muḥtarima’s daughter Mihmān B.

² Described in the *Ghīās-al-loghāt* as a town in Turkestan celebrated for the beauty of its inhabitants.

³ Sic in text, but clearly Khānim

is a mistake here for Hāram. The Khānim (Muṭharima) had not Rustāq in her gift. However, it would appear from the sequel that the term Khānim is also applied to Hāram.

Sultān and gave Rustāq as her dowry. When the friendship had been cemented, Cūcak Khānim made over her son (Abu S'aīd) to the Mirzā and went off to Kāshghār. The Mīrzā set himself to punish the sedition-mongers. He sent many to the pit of annihilation and imprisoned others. The dervish and his crew he pilloried (tashhīr) and expelled from the country. A number fled with great quickness out of the country.

Another thing that increased the distress of the Badakhshīāns was Haram Begam's bestowing the government of Kūlāb on Nadīm Qabbūzī. This caused a disturbance in that country, and was disagreeable to the army of Kūlāb. From the want of true affection and respect they raised up 'Abdu-l-Ghaffūr the son of Jahāngīr 'Ali Beg the brother's¹ son of the Begam, who was in Qarātagīn, and put Nadīm to death. Haram Begam took M. Shāhrukh from Qandūz, and Ābū S'aīd Sultān from Rustāq, with her, and marched against Kūlāb. The rebels fortified themselves in Qarātagīn, and the Begam set herself to besiege it. Mīr Aflātūn, who was her general, crossed the river and blockaded the country. 'Abdu-l-Ghaffūr and some of the garrison fell upon him, and he was killed. Just then the Kūlābīs in the Begam's army cast the dust of faithlessness on their heads by deserting to the enemy. The Begam was compelled to make a rapid retreat, and 'Abdu-l-Ghaffūr was wicked enough to pursue her. He came up with the Khānim (*i.e.*, Haram) and M. Shāhrukh, but as there was some good in his disposition he only plundered her property and honourably released her. She was in consternation at her misfortunes when suddenly M. Shāhrukh appeared and drove away her grief. She said to him, "My husband left your father among the enemy and hurried off, and I left you among the rebel-crew and ignorantly 152 fled in haste. May God forgive me for it!" In a short space of time she joined M. Sulaimān and his army and proceeded against Kūlāb. 'Abdu-l-lah took refuge in Qīrghīz, but his goods and chattels fell into the hands of his enemies.

Another cause of mischief in Badakhshān was when by the exertions of M. Hakīm and the leaders of that country the servants of M. Sulaimān were turned out in a wretched condition from

¹ The meaning is apparently that 'Abdu-l-Ghaffūr was the Begam's nephew.

Afghanistan, as has already been described. M. Sulaimān came to Kabul, and when he did not succeed, he turned back. He imprisoned Muḥammad Qulī Shighālī and some others who had shown slackness in their service. Some of them he caused to be beaten, and some he censured, and he took away from Muḥammad Qulī the governorship of Qunduz and gave it to Ḥājī Taman Beg. Qanḡhar Bāi, Yūsuf Qulī, Bīr Kacī Khāksār, S'aīd Beg his son, Ḥājī Fakhrgī, Bāqī Beg and a number of others fled to Ḥājī Taman Beg, and that wretch joined in with those ungrateful and evil servants. They also in collusion with the Khānim put forward the seven years old M. Shāhrukh, and raised the dust of sedition. Their sole thought was to obtain for M. Shāhrukh the country which had belonged to M. Ibrāhīm, so that another shop (of intrigue) might be established, and that there might be a splendid asylum for the ill-conditioned. When M. Sulaimān heard of the sedition-mongering of this crew he proceeded against them. They shut the door of the fort and took steps to defend themselves. The siege (of Qunduz) lasted for about forty days. By the strenuous exertions of M. Sulaimān, and the efforts of some right-thinking persons, M. Shāhrukh waited upon the Mīrzā, and the whole of that iniquitous crew were seized. The Mīrzā bound these wicked, fly-like men and sent them to Qarātagīn. There they colluded with the garrison and brought Mihr 'Ālī, who was governor of Qarātagīn, to disgrace. No one had yet been appointed as chief when the officers of Qarātagīn said to those presumptuous and evil-disposed men, "Neither we nor you have any one who is fit to be chief; one of two things must be done; either do you bring M. Shāhrukh in order that we may elect our service in his presence, or you must depart from this country and manage your affairs yourselves." The matter came so far that they sought to seize the faction. They became helpless and hurried off to Balkh as supplicants. Ḥaram Begam sent presents to the governor there and requested him to punish them. The gang escaped by the intervention of Shaikh Husain of Khawārizm and came to Kabul. Owing to discord, and vacillation of opinions Ḥājī Taman Beg and some others turned back and hastened to Badakhshān. S'aīd Badakhshī, Tengrī Bardī Qūshbegī, Ḥājī Beg, Bāqī Beg and some others turned towards the world-protecting court. When this commotion subsided,

Muḥammad Qulī's favour was increased, and Qundūz was given to him. Shāh Tayīb, who was nearly related to Haram Begam, was made atālīq (guardian) to the Mīrzā (Shāhrukh).

One of the occurrences which might prove the retribution of M. **153** Sulaimān for his ingratitude was this that the sedition-mongers again made M. Shāhrukh a pretext for commotion. The brief account of this is that 'Abdullah Khān the ruler of part of Tūrān set about seizing Hiṣār. The people of Hiṣār asked help from M. Sulaimān. The Mīrzā, in order to keep up the tie of relationship which he had recently formed, and also from consideration of the opinions of farsighted persons who thought that if the country were absorbed by 'Abdullah Khān, the war would reach him, determined to collect the Badakhshān army and proceed thither. He was engaged in the work of administration and in putting his army into order and had made over the Passes to experienced men, when owing to the quarrelsomeness and evil nature of Muḥammad Qulī Shighālī, who was the prime minister, words were uttered by him which were unfitted for the occasion. At such a time when Muḥammad Qulī should have supported him, he in his wickedness preferred all sorts of demands, as is the way of the empty headed. When the Mīrzā saw this bad behaviour, he was at first amazed and then reproached him for his improper language. In the same assembly he sent trustworthy men to summon Haram Begam in order that he might make him over to her for punishment. Muḥammad Qulī became confused and came away from the meeting, pretending that he had a pain in his belly. He went off to Qundūz in order that he might fortify it and engage in strife. He sent his younger brother Khawāja Beg to Tālīqān in order that he might renew the old compact with the Khānim and get hold of M. Shahrukh, and stir up the dust of strife. That strife-monger combined with Mullā 'Alī and Mast 'Alī, who were in the Khānim's service, and plotted evil things. The Khānim and M. Shahrukh, who was now fifteen years of age, left Tālīqān on the pretext of going for an excursion. Shāh Tayīb became suspicious at this departure, and quickly arrived and kept a look-out. Mullā 'Alī, Mast 'Alī, Jahāngīr Beg, Muḥarrām Beg, Pīr Qulī, Khākī Khānazād and some other wicked men represented to the Khānim that Shāh Tayīb was alone and that they ought to finish him. But from fear

of Haram Begam no one had the courage to do this. At last, after much talk, M. Shahrukh at the instigation of those perverted ones shot an arrow at him and the persons above mentioned killed him¹ with their knives. The Mīrzā did this improper act from simplicity and from the infatuation produced by the bad teaching of those darkened intellects!

When the Mīrzā heard of the flight of Muḥammad Qūlī he came quickly to Qundūz. As Muḥammad Qūlī had not had time to strengthen the fort he fled, and the Mīrzā came into possession of
154 Qundūz. When the catastrophe of Shāh Tayīb and the rebellion of Shahrukh became known, he went off to put down the rebels. At the same time the Khānim, when such errors were being committed, took M. Shahrukh and went off with him to the Hindu Koh in order that if she could get help from the Aimāqs, and Muḥammad Qūlī joined her, she might return to Badakhshān. Otherwise she would go to the sublime court and rub her forehead on the threshold of glory. For the Khānim had from old times the connection of service and devotion with H. M. the Shāhinshāh, and his kindness was a great support to her. When they came to the Hindu Koh the Aimāqs collected in crowds. Muḥammad Qūlī also joined them. M. Shahrukh returned and with little trouble took possession of Andarāb. From there they went to Kahmard. Sabz Tūlakeī the governor of that place came and paid his respects. The Khānim left M. Shahrukh there and went on to Ghorī. Sultān Ibrāhīm, who was related to M. Sulaimān, fortified Ghorī. Though they brought forward his son and threatened that if he did not surrender the fort they would slaughter his darling (his liver-lobe), he replied, "It is better that whoever spills his honour and fidelity should have his blood spilled." And like a faithful servant he was firm in holding the fort. When M. Sulaimān heard of this commotion, and was meditating marching thither, Haram Begam yielded up her life. He went off to Kishm for the mourning. From there he proceeded towards Ghorī. M. Shahrukh was unsuccessful and hurried to Andarāb. The Mīrzā resolved to go to the Hindu Koh in order to get hold of the families and property of the Aimāqs, and that he might scatter M. Shahrukh's forces. Just then M. Shahrukh, at the instigation of evil-disposed persons petitioned

¹ The Lucknow ed. has *tendon* but probably this should be *tirdon*.

that the estates which had belonged to M. Ibrāhīm might be surrendered to him, and represented that in this way commotion might cease, and unity and concord result. M. Sulaimān made no reply. When the Aimāqs' property came into his hands and M. Shāhrukh's position became insecure, the latter was obliged to go to Sirāb. From there he hastened to Khost in order that he might make the defiles of Badakhshān his protection. M. Sulaimān proceeded towards that country by the way of the plain, and when M. Shāhrukh came to the parting of the ways for Ghorī and Qundūz and was in doubt as to which route he should take, there suddenly arrived the vanguard of M. Sulaimān's army under the command of Mihr 'Alī. The Mirza's (Shāhrukh) troops broke. He himself, Muḥammad Qūlī, Nūr Beg his brother, Sabz Tūlakcī and Qulīj turned against their evil fortune, and fighting bravely drove off the enemy. They went off to the mountains towards the district of Anjuman.¹ M. Sulaimān plundered M. Shāhrukh's camp and went off to Hārm. M. Shāhrukh after traversing mountains, and much unsuccess, got possession of Qundūz owing to the negligence of the watchmen. As many of the Badakhshān families were there, M. Sulaimān's men left him and **155** took to coming in (to Shāhrukh). Many of them behaved in an unmanly manner and incurred eternal disgrace. Muḥammad Qūlī Shighālī and many other officers of Badakhshān were of opinion that the Mīrzā (Sulaimān) should be pursued and put to death. M. Shāhrukh, from innate goodness and reverence, did not, in that strong blast of indiscretion and stony ways of unloveliness, listen to the words of those wretches, and trod the rose-garden of rectitude. He fixed himself in Qundūz. M. Sulaimān sent him a friendly letter and made over to him Ibrāhīm's territories. Many days had not elapsed when the evil-disposed of that country suggested that Kulāb was a nursery of soldiers and also an inaccessible place, and that M. Sulaimān wished to fortify it. It would be well to extirpate him by taking possession of it. M. Shāhrukh was confused by the preambles of those black-hearted,

¹ See T. R. 189. It is entered as a place in the Index to Bib. Ind. Anjuman is marked in Govt. map of

Afghanistan. It lies S. E. Badakhshān.

fly-like men and went off to Tālīqān. When he came there every one who was with M. Sulaimān wickedly took the path of faithlessness and went over to M. Shāhrukh. Those wicked men got their opportunity and exerted themselves to utter gold-incrusted words and to lead that simple-minded one astray. In spite of their urgency the Mīrzā did not drop the thread of righteousness, and begged permission to wait upon M. Sulaimān. He replied, "Let the Khānim come first and solace my heart. After that come you and be the light of my eyes." M. Shāhrukh agreed to the wish. He hastened to pay his respects, and waited upon M. Sulaimān. While they were in Tālīqān, M. Sulaimān, from excessive suspicion, would not for some time allow the Khānim to depart from his presence. Muḥammad Qūlī and his brethren out of wickedness behaved harshly to the Mīrzā's (Sulaimān's) men, and M. Shāhrukh suitably rebuked some of them. He also gave a great banquet, and in the banqueting-hall promises and oaths were interchanged. It was determined that Shāhrukh M. would never leave the highway of doing what was well-pleasing to M. Sulaimān.

When solemn oaths had been taken, M. Sulaimān said that during the lifetime of M. Ibrāhīm he had a desire to visit the Hijāz and to circumambulate the holy places, and that now the same desire was disturbing his soul. His wish was that they should part on good terms, and that the division (of territory) which had been made should be adhered to. M. Shāhrukh from goodness and reverence hesitated to grant this request. And as imagination—the sovereign—had great predominance, every supplication which M. Shāhrukh made was regarded by M. Sulaimān as something different and sinister. When nothing could pacify M. Sulaimān, M. Shāhrukh was compelled to take leave of him with all reverence and to
156 allow him to depart with his property. From there M. Sulaimān came to Kabul, and his whole idea was to form some alliance and so take revenge on M. Shāhrukh. If Ḥakīm M. would help him, he would return and exact vengeance, and if he could stir up strife in Kabul, he would attempt to do so, and make this a help towards his recovering Badakhshān. Otherwise he would go to the Shāhinshāh's court and there try to carry out the secret objects of his heart. When M. Ḥakīm perceived the

notes of commotion on his brow he sent him to India along with trusty¹ men. From Bikram the Mīrzā sent a petition to the court, which contained thousands of regrets and apologies. The broad-minded and tolerant sovereign accepted his excuses and sent an order to the Punjab officers to go out to meet the Mīrzā and to show him all respect. He also sent off Khwāja 'Āqā Jān with the rarities of India that he might hasten forward to gladden the exile's heart. He met the Mīrzā on the banks of the Indus, and comforted him, and made his sorrow-laden soul embrace joy. The stewards of fate in this old caravanserai of the world, which is a place for the retribution of actions, brought him, on account of his old trespasses, into the dust-bin of adversity and marked him with the dust of catastrophe. As his fortune had something of auspiciousness in it, he carried the countenance of supplication to the sacred court. Inasmuch as the threshold of the fortune of the world's lord is a fount of benevolence and respect, he was encompassed with favours. The envoys met the Mīrzā, some in the borders of Scinde, and some in Bhīra, and showed him respect. The officers went out to welcome him near their fiefs and paid him reverence. When he arrived near the capital, the high dignitaries and the great officers assembled in crowds, in accordance with the orders of H.M., and received him with ceremony. When the procession came within three kos of the capital the appreciative world's-lord mounted his horse and rode thither. The superintendents of the palace decked out the hall of audience and the whole of the city, and made them resemble the picture-gallery of China. From the front of the palace to the end of the stage, mountain-like elephants wearing chains of gold and silver, and golden and bejewelled housings, were drawn up in two rows. The foot of the glance moved from its place, and the eye of the heart was amazed. Between every two elephants there was a *cīta* attired in costly clothing. The conspicuous places on the route and the city-streets were also adorned. H.M. mounted his horse on the

¹ The T. A. and Badāyūnī give a different account. They say that M. Ḥakīm supplied worthless guides who ran away at the first stage, and that Sulaimān, who had his

daughter with him, had great difficulty in making his way to the Indus. A. F.'s account reads as if it had been inspired by Shāhrukh.

day of Amardād 7 Ābān, Divine month (middle of October 1575), and all the insignia of royalty appeared before the Mīrzā. He dismounted and came hastily forward. The illustrious Shāhinshāh who made the increase of worldly dignities a motive for increased humility and friendliness dismounted and performed the *kornish*. The Mīrzā performed the prostration (*sijda*), and was exalted by favours. All at once, the grief of former wanderings, the sorrows caused by the recalcitrance of Shāhrukh M., the bad behaviour of Hakīm M. and the distracting influences of exile were erased from his heart. From that place he returned with a heart full of thankfulness, and a tongue full of praise. The Mīrzā had the bliss of being nearly associated with H.M., and became enrolled among his followers. The sovereign returned to his palace, and there was a great banquet.

Verse.

They prepared a wondrous banquet hall
In it was an abundant feast
In every corner were the beauties of China and Chigal¹
They robbed the senses and seduced the soul.

(six lines of rhetoric).

In that feast the Shāhinshāh opened the hand of liberality and conferred boundless favours on the Mīrzā and on all the visitors. Inasmuch as the whole idea of the Mīrzā was to get the government of that hilly country—Badakhshān—he was gladdened by the news that this desire of his would be gratified. He was informed that the armies of the Panjab would shortly be despatched under the command of Khān Jahān, and that they would soon bring Badakhshān into the Mīrzā's possession. The Mīrzā performed the prostration and became partaker of perpetual joy.

One of the occurrences was that Rajah Todar Mal came and performed the prostration on the day of Debādīn 23 Ābān, Divine month. He brought as a present fifty-four noted elephants, and rarities from Bengal, which had been obtained in the battle of
158 Takarōi and at the time of the peace. He described the events of the country in accordance with what has already been related. He

¹ A town in Turkestan famous for the beauty of its youth.

was the recipient of various favours. Financial and territorial matters were entrusted to him, and he was made *Mashrif-i-dīwān*.¹ He served with honesty and the absence of avarice. There was no cupidity in his administration. Would that he had not been spiteful and revengeful so that a little opposition² would cause dislike to spring up in the field of his heart and acquire strength and substance. Such a quality is considered by the wise to be one of the worst qualities in a man, especially in an administrator to whom men's affairs are entrusted, and who has been selected as the *vakil* of such a world-lord. If bigotry in religion had not coloured his nature he would not have had so many bad qualities. But in spite of these defects, if we look to the nature of men in general, in fullness of courage (*serdilī*), absence of avarice—that market was always flat with him—in the performance of service, in diligence and skill he was a man such as is seldom seen, or rather he was incomparable.³

One of the occurrences was that the territory of *Gaḍha* was taken from *Rai Sarjan*⁴ and given in fief to *Ṣādiq Khān* who was sent there to take charge of it. To *Rai Sarjan* was given the fief of *Cunār*.

Another occurrence was that *M'aṣūm Khān*⁵ came from Afghanistan and entered into service. He was given high rank and sent to *Bihār*. He belonged to the Saiyids of Turbat in *Khurāsān*. His paternal uncle *Mīr 'Azīz*⁶ had been in the service of H.M. *Jahānbānī* and had attained to the rank of vizier. He stood to M. *Hakīm* in the relation of *Kokaltāsh* (foster-brother). He was renowned for bravery and thoroughness. *Khawāja Hasan Naqshbandī*, from a

¹ B. VII.

² *Bayāzīd Bīyat* M. S. I. O. 132a mentions an instance of *Todar Mal*'s religious feelings when he punished *Bayāzīd*, with justice apparently, for breaking down a temple at Benares and converting it into a Madrasa. Afterwards when *Bayāzīd* on his return from Mecca got a pargana, *Todar Mal* rack-rented him. Perhaps A. F. was thinking of *Todar Mal*'s conduct to *Shāh Manṣūr*. He put him in prison and

in chains, and afterwards reported him to Akbar. He also perhaps had to do with his murder.

³ See B. 431, n. 1.

A. F. also represents *Todar Mal* as prejudiced against *Qāzī 'Alī Baghdādī*.

⁴ B. 409. *Gaḍha* is *Gaḍha-Katanga*, i.e., *Jabalpūr*.

⁵ B. 143, n. 1.

⁶ The *Mīr 'Azīz-Ullah Turbatī* of B. 527.

cloud on his mind which happens to worldlings, on a slight suspicion endeavoured to destroy him. From far-sightedness he came to court, and was received with the glance of favour.

In the same year Mīr Saiyid¹ Muḥammad Mir 'Ādil was given the government of Bhakar.

One of the occurrences was that Jalāl Khan² quaffed his last draught. It has already been mentioned that he was sent to assist the army of Siwāna. When he came to Mīrtha, Sultān Singh and Rām Singh the brothers of Rai Rai Singh, and 'Ali Qulī the relation of Shāh Qulī Khan Maḥram, sent a message that they had in accordance with H.M.'s orders addressed themselves to the uprooting of Candar Sen, but that owing to the hilliness of the country, the difficulties of the roads, and the crowd of audacious men, he was making great resistance, and that it was time for help to arrive. Jalāl Khan marched quickly to that quarter. Candar Sen took to vulpine tricks on the arrival of this army, and had recourse to stratagem. The imperialists saw through his design and marched against him, and he took refuge in the mountain of Kanūja (?)³ and came forward to fight. A large number were killed, and when his glory was discomfited, he of necessity retreated to the folds of the hills.

159 The officers entered victoriously into the fort of Rāmgarh.⁴ At this time one of the crafty spirits represented that he was Debī Dās. Vagabonds gathered round him. Many were certain that Debī Dās was killed at Mīrtha in the battle with M. Shārafu-d-dīn Ḥusain. At this time the claimant gave out that he was wounded in that engagement, and had lain on the ground nearly dead. A benevolent hermit had taken him on his shoulders and conveyed him to his cell, and had there applied plasters to his wounds and had healed them. He had then gone in attendance on the hermit to visit holy shrines. Now the hermit had given him leave, and he had again put upon his shoulders the scarf of social life. Some believed his story and some repudiated it. He joined Jalāl Khan in order that he might do good service and his name be reported to the Shāhinshāh. Suddenly fortune, the juggler, played another trick.

¹ B. 438.

² B. 475.

³ In some MSS. it is Kanūca. Qu.

Is it the hill near Gūndoj mentioned in Rajputana Gazetteer II. 223 P

⁴ In Jaipūr 100 m. N. W. Jaipūr.

The short account of this is as follows: When they were in hot pursuit of Candar Sen, that fabricator represented that the ruined wanderer (Candar Sen) was in the fief of Kalā the son of Rām Rai, his (Candar's) own brother's son, and that his face was turned towards the wall of contempt (*i.e.*, was in a wretched condition). The victorious army hastened to the spot. Kalā from ill-fatedness maintained that Candar Sen was not there; and by fraud and deception won over Shimāl Khān to his side and set about ruining Debī Dās. Shimāl one day brought him to his house and was about to seize him, but he bravely got out of that whirlpool. As he had come to despair of the imperial troops, he craftily went to Kalā and became his companion. On the day of Shahriyūr 4 Āzar, Divine month, November 1575, when the imperial soldiers had gone off in various directions, the lamp of the vision of Debī Dās and some other daring and presumptuous ones was extinguished while they were seeking to glut their vengeance. They took Jalāl Khān's quarters to be Shimāl Khan's and attacked them. He fought bravely but without arrangement, and yielded up the coin of his life. The evil-doers went from there to Shimāl Khān's tent, and just then Jaimal came up with many combatants and quelled the disturbance. When this catastrophe was reported to H.M., he appointed Saiyid Aḥmad, Saiyid Hāshim and a number more of the Saiyids of Bārha to chastise the presumptuous men of that region. They did good service, and put down the rebels.¹

¹ This chapter is chiefly taken up with the affairs of Badakhshān, and it gives many interesting details about the history of that country. There is an amount of feminine gossip in it which makes one think that A. F. is here copying from some lady's memoirs. Perhaps it represents a missing part of Gulbadan Begam's memoirs! Presumably Muḥtarima did not marry Ibrāhīm M. till after the death of her first husband M. Kāmrān. This occurred

in the end of 964 (1557). Two periods are referred to in the chapter, one when Shāhrukh was 7 years old, and the other when he was fifteen. Ibrāhīm his father was killed in 967, and apparently Shāhrukh was born in that or the following year. The character given of him by A. F. corresponds with that given him by Jahāngīr in his memoirs. He married Shukranisa, a daughter of Akbar. His mother died in 993.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE ENTRUSTING OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL TO Khān Jahān.

160 On the day of Mārisfand 29 Ābān, Divine month, reports came from Bengal to the effect that Mun'im Khān had died on the day of Khūr 15 Ābān, Divine month (23 October 1575),¹ and that Dāūd had wickedly broken his oath and taken to rebellion, and that the officers from want of wisdom and envy had not stood their ground, but had abandoned that fine country without a battle. They were now, it was said, at the parting of the ways, and in confusion in the desert of bewilderment. They neither thought of staying where they were, nor had the courage to proceed to the holy threshold.

The brief account of this instructive occurrence is that when Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān had made peace he hastened to Ghorāghāt, and quelled the disturbance there. From there he returned, and made habitable the city of Gaur which formerly was the capital. This he did both that the army might be near Ghorāghāt, which was a fountain of sedition, and might entirely put down commotion there, and also that he might restore this delightful place, which had a noble fort, and magnificent buildings. He did not notice that the atmosphere of the place had acquired poisonous² qualities in consequence of the vicissitudes of time and of the decay of the buildings, especially at the time of the end of the rains, when there is a change of climate (*ābgardish*) in most of the districts of Bengal. Though those acquainted with the character of the country stated the facts, their remarks were not listened to. He adopted the ordinary kind of resignation and so kept a world in the whirlpool of annihilation. The resignation which is practised by the elect of the palace of inquiry consists in observing the dictates of deliberation, and the glory of wisdom—which are the sentinels of the mate-

¹ The date given in Bayāzīd Biyāt's Memoirs is the night of Monday, 18 Rajab, 983, which is equal to 23 October, 1575; 15 Ābān should

be 25 or 26 October. The M'aasir I. 644 does not give the full date.

² Cf. Jarrett II, 120.

rial world—and then leaving the result of their skill to the incomparable Deity, and not to reason and outward causes. On this account¹ Ashraf Khān, Ḥaidar Khān, M'ūīnu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān Farankhūdī, Lāl Khān, Ḥājī Khān Sīstānī, Hāshim Khān, Muḥsin Khān, Ḥājī Yūsuf Khān, Qandūz Khān, Mīrzā Qulī Khān, Abu-l-hasan, Shāh Tāhir, Shāh Khalīl, and many other officers, each of whom was a proper soldier and a world-conqueror, fell asleep on the bed of annihilation; and the thought of death took hold of everyone. Though in that year there was a strong wind of destruction in all the eastern provinces, which shook the pillars of life, in that city it amounted to a typhoon.

As the Khān-Khānān had acted contrary to the opinion of many, he stuck to what he had said and did not take warning. But when the mortality exceeded calculation, and he perceived the wretched state of affairs, he applied himself to remedy matters. At this time the news came that Junaid was beginning to raise a disturbance in Bihār, so that a motive of coming away from that valley of annihilation presented itself. He left that city of calamities with the intention of crossing over to Bihār. It was a still more extraordinary thing that he did not suffer in that typhoon of plague which was fraught with evil to the generality, but as soon as he came to Tānda he died after a little illness.² On account of this there was great

¹ See list in B. 376. Ashraf Khān was a noted calligrapher and is mentioned in A. F.'s Inshā; cf. B. 101 and n. 6 and p. 389.

² Mun'im Khān was over eighty when he died (Badayūnī 221). It will be seen that he died at Tānda and not, as commonly stated, at Gaur. There is some account of the plague at Gaur in Bāyāzīd Bīyat, p. 147a. He says the pestilence was aggravated by the intemperance of the army.

There is a long and good account of Mun'im Khān in the Darbārī Akbarī, p. 229 *et seq.* His son died before him, and according to Badayūnī all his wealth went into the

exchequer. The Maaṣir I. 635 has a long account of Mun'im and says, p. 645, that the enduring offspring of Mun'im is the bridge he built at Jaunpūr over the Gūmtī in 981 (1573). The bridge is still standing. Stewart in his history of Bengal, 162 note, mentions the interesting fact that in 1773 a brigade of British troops sailed over the bridge which suffered no damage from the violence of the current. See also an account of the building of the bridge, etc., in the Darbārī Akbarī, p. 250, etc.

The exact date of Mun'im's death seems uncertain. A. F. only gives

uneasiness in the army. Although the officers appointed Shāham Khān as commander, and the eunuch I'timād Khān, who was distinguished for sense and judgment, put upon his shoulder the scarf of dexterity, yet on account of the want of harmony among the leaders, and the imaginations of the generality, and the small capacity of most of the advisers, and the flames of the dissentients, there was no unity in the deliberations. Dāūd's evil spirit was aroused by hearing of these quarrels, and he snatched the veil of honour from his face and broke his engagements. He besieged Nazr Bahādur in the town of Bhadrak, and after inducing him by promises to surrender, he put him to death. Murād Khān let the foot of his courage slip from the city of Jalesar (Jellasor) and came to Tānda without fighting a battle. At this time of confusion Īsā Zamīndār fell upon Shāh Bardī, who had charge of the boats and the artillery of the province. Though he put forth the foot of courage and raised the standard of victory, yet out of excessive apprehension he left that country and joined the officers with the artillery and the flotilla. The chiefs of the victorious army on account of their being disgusted with the country, and the want of right thinking, dropped from their hands the thread of work. They crossed the Ganges and came towards Gaur. The whole soul of those paltry-minded men was engaged in carrying their acquisitions out of that country (Bengal), while outwardly they said, "When we have put the river between us and the enemy, we shall give our minds to fighting, and then the Qāqshāls from Ghorāghāt will join us." When they had crossed the river, Qutlaq Qadam produced a lying¹ letter (*muzawwir nāma*) and spread unpleasing reports about the world's lord. Those friends of pelf, foes of fame (*āzdostān, nāmūs dushman*) used this false statement as their credentials and went off towards Bihār by

the date according to the Persian Calendar. Elliot V. 395 wrongly has Şafar instead of Rajab. The T. A. and also apparently Badayūnī (who copies the T. A.) only gives the month, for the ten days are those of the illness and not of the month. Bayāzīd has the night of Monday 18 Rajab (983).

The *Iqbāl-nāma* says distinctly that he was ill for ten days and died on the eleventh day. It also gives Tānda as the place of death.

¹ The *Iqbāl-nāma* calls it *Kilāb j'ālī*, a forged book or letter.

way of Purniya and Tirhut. They gave up such a fine country without regarding it. Still stranger! Adam Tājband, who at this time had brought firmāns from H.M. to the Khān-Khānān and the Bengal officers, from wickedness and the instigation of evil men appropriated to himself the elephants and other property of Mun'im Khān. He opened a thousand doors of plundering and gave out that he was by orders of the Shāhinshāh taking measures for the preservation of the goods. In reality he was sunk in cupidity and was enriching his house for his own harm and by his own efforts arranging for himself the materials of eternal ruin.¹

When these occurrences came to the royal hearing he thought that he might entrust Bengal to M. Sulaimān, so that he might in that fine country amend his misfortunes, and accumulate happiness of life. Should he, under those circumstances, wish for the headship (*sirdārī*) of Badakhshān, and if the being in that Highland country had taken possession of his mind, that desire would be easily gratified. The high wind of M. Sulaimān's passion for revenging himself on M. Shāhrukh, and of his overweening affection for the stony land of his birth, extinguished the lamp of plan and deliberation. The notes of joy did not appear on his forehead when he heard of this great boon. The world's lord pardoned the simpleton and gave him the glad tidings of the gratification of his petty wishes. But inasmuch as it is inscribed on the portico of world-rule that urgent enterprises should be preferred to ordinary ones, and that the principles of sovereignty must not be abandoned, H.M. directed Khān Jahān, who was prepared with a victorious army to proceed to the conquest of Badakhshān, to march to Bengal and to conquer and clear that country. He imparted to him instructions which were calculated to soothe mankind and to be well pleasing to God. On the night of Isfandarmaz 5 Āzar,² Divine month, about 15 November, 1575, he was dismissed to that country after his dignity had been increased by great favours. Rajah Todar Mal, who was an able and experienced man, was appointed to accompany him, 162

¹ Bayāzīd Biyāt, Mem. 147a, describes how he went to Gaur after Mun'im's death, and the difficulty he had in securing the property.

² This must be the date of issuing

the order of appointment. The news of Mun'im's death only came on the 29th of the previous month (Ābān), and Akbar's first thought was to appoint Sulaimān.

and an order was given that all the Bengal officers and land-holders should regard Khān Jahān as the executor of the orders of the Caliphate and should consider his will and pleasure as those of the sovereign, and should properly exert themselves for the conquest and civilisation of the country. The government of the Panjab was taken from him and given to Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram who was renowned among the brave and right-thinking.

Khān Jahān addressed himself to service according to the rules of the loyal and fortunate. The Bengal officers had reached the neighbourhood of Bhagalpur when the victorious army arrived there. The bewilderment of those self-interested men increased. They were not inclined to turn back and co-operate (with Khān Jahān) and they could not venture to proceed to court. Most of them threw off the veil of shame, and eloquently discoursed upon the refractoriness of the people, the pestilential atmosphere of the country, and the large mortality, and objected to go back. Some from evil disposition and strife-mongering brought forward the affair of religion,¹ and began to chatter foolishly about the headship of Khān Jahān. By the halo of the Shāhinshāh's majesty, the politic conduct of Rajah Todar Mal, and the wide capacity and toleration of Khān Jahān, the seal of silence was impressed on the lips of every one, and they elected to accompany him. Ism'aīl Qulī Khān took his place in the army with a band of active and courageous men, and by the Divine aid, and their skill and loyalty, Garhī, which is the gate of Bengal, was recovered with little difficulty. Ayāz Khāṣa Khail, who had charge of that place, fell alive into their hands and was put to death. Dāūd in his pride never imagined that the imperial army would come so soon. On hearing the reverberation of its approach he suddenly proceeded to take defensive measures. By alertness and dexterity Khān Jahān chose for his camp Āk Maḥal² which is fortified on one side by the river,

¹ Khān Jahān was Bairām's sister's son and a Persian and a Sh'ia. The Bengal officers were, many of them, Turks and Sunnīs.

² Rājmaḥal. Perhaps Āk is Turkish and the name means White House. B. however reads Ag Maḥal.

See his Errata. But see Jarrett II. 129. The name Rājmaḥal was given to it in consequence of Rajah Mān Singh's choosing it for his residence. The Turkish word for white is properly āq. The text is wrongly punctuated, and makes it appear as

while on the other side access is impeded by lofty mountains, while in front the tracks were effaced by a large marsh. Apart from its being a strong refuge, Āk Maḥal is in the forefront of Bengal. Accordingly the occupants of this strong position were saved from the effects of accidents, and the inhabitants of the country remained **163** in security as soon as the armies of fortune had come there. Khān Jahān drew up in battle-array, but owing to the difficulties of the country and the time there was no engagement. The gallant warriors came out on every side and displayed devotion, and there was abundant testing of men's mettle.

One of the occurrences was that Mīr Muḥammad Khān Khān Kilān died in Pattan Gujarat on the day of Farwardīn 19 Dai, Divine month (December, 1575). The appreciative sovereign begged¹ forgiveness of his sins and assuaged the grief of those he had left behind by princely favours.

Among the occurrences was that M. Sulaimān obtained leave to travel to Hijāz. From the time that the Mīrzā obtained the bliss of doing homage, he was continually encompassed by the favours of the Shāhinshāh, and was distinguished by great honours in the holy assemblies. As his whole soul was intent upon chastising M. Shāhrukh, and upon obtaining the government of the mountains of Badakhshān, the knot on his heart was not loosed. When Khān Jahān went off to the province of Bengal, and there became a little delay in the fulfilment of his wishes, he from his ill-fortune and haste did not understand the real state of affairs and applied for leave to go to the Hijāz. He thought that perhaps by this route he might reach that country (Badakhshān), and obtain his ends by feline tricks. H.M. acceded to his wishes and bade him adieu, and sent Qulīj Khān and Rūpsī to accompany him and to wait upon him, and to see him through the difficult parts up to the Gujarat ports. Subsistence for several years and a well-found ship were bestowed on him. The above-mentioned officers conveyed him peacefully and with comfort to the port of Surat and sent him off to the Hijāz.

if it was Dāūd who encamped at Āk Maḥall.

¹ i.e., repeated the *fātiḥa*.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE ROYAL CORTÈGE PROCEEDS TO AJMERE.

The parterre-adorners of the Caliphate in his plenitude of Divine worship and his keen quest of truth conducts himself with a regard to the feelings of the superficial majority. In consequence of his vast comprehensiveness, and his thorough knowledge of the pulse of the age, he seldom promulgates the luminous conceptions which cast rays on his heart from the sky of genius. For the food of forest-lions is not adapted to sparrows of the house-gable, nor are the rations of mountain-like elephants expended upon feeble gnats! Nor is the diet of the spiritually strong beneficial to the mentally sick. Accordingly the enthroned one of the Sultanate allows for the condition of the classes of humanity and regulates his effulgence in accordance therewith. From his observing this course, there arises no dust of

164 unsoundness in the inner chamber of his spirit. Though he sit upon the throne of the spiritual kingdom and of a world illuminated by the rays of true light, he regards the worship of the True God to be also accomplished by external forms, and worships the very God as superficialists do, and is a spiritual worshipper according to the formulas of ordinary followers of the world's customs. From this idea, the circumambulation of the sepulchres of the leaders of the caravan of existence (*i.e.*, saints, or perhaps it only means those who have gone before)—which is regarded by some as the essence of the worship of the Creator, and of the acknowledgment of Divinity, while others look upon it as a pious act and a contemplation of the Divine mercy—was rigorously practised by him, just as if he were a mere formalist. By this excellent plan he introduced worshippers of externals to the feast of practical wisdom and guided them to the highway of Truth. And when he who understood the pulse of the age, devised such a cure for those sick persons, there came no dust

¹ This exordium does not occur in the Lucknow ed., nor do Akbar's re-

marks occur in the collection of his sayings at the end of the *Ain*.

from such earth-questing (*khākparsī*) to sully the skirt of his grandeur. Many a time there rose to his lips, in his sacred privy-chamber, the words, "Seeing that the note of man's greatness, which consists of knowing the truth and the performance of good actions, is not visible in the elemental house—which is an abode of lust and affections and is in the world's language called Body—how can it be sought for in an earthly prison (the grave)? Moreover, when the cavalier of Purpose (*maqsūd*) gets lost in the equable mansions of Time, that is, the bodily frames, what hope is there that he will be found after the web and woof of the constitution have been dissolved in the prison-house of death, which is a boisterous ferry (or perhaps bleaching-ground, *i.e.*, graveyard) of the Divine wrath? When he cannot be found in his own house, why drive a mine into the house of the dust? If the matter were rightly considered, men would not conserve the house of a ruined home, which they call the grave. But this language may not enter into every ear, nor can impress itself on every heart. Hence it follows that those who understand institutions and are widely tolerant do not on beholding this springless autumm surrender the flower-garden of their soul to the winds of disturbance, but contemplate the ideas of those who regard the practice (of pilgrimages) as Divine worship, and enjoy an autumnless Spring."

On account of such views H.M. left the capital of Fathpūr on the night of Zamīyād ¹ 28 Bahman, Divine month, and proceeded towards Ajmere. He passed along, stage by stage, dispensing justice and increasing joy, and by the guidance of the Divine aid he encamped on the day of *Ashtād* 26 Isfandārmaz, Divine month (18 March 1576), in the bounteous district of Ajmere. In accordance with prescribed customs he performed the last stage to the shrine on foot, and making external things a means of increase to internal light, he came as the flower-gatherer of the garden of truth. He divided a large sum of money among those who sate at the threshold of the shrine, and fixed splendid salaries for the expectants. He made strong the souls of the wishful, and caused the depressed of heart to be chief sitters in the hall of acceptation. By the blessed influence of the setting up of the sublime standards, the country acquired fresh prosperity. At once, outward customs were observed, and likewise was

¹ T.A. says 7 *Zul q'ada*, *i.e.*, 9 March, 1576.

the spiritual world decked out. The dignity of the clay was exalted, and illumination was bestowed on the heart. In this dust-bin of externalities (the world) it is an approved principle to honour saints and to ask inspiration from them, and to magnify those who are connected with this chosen class, especially when this is done by majestic Kings. God be praised! This noble temper as well as other grand qualities have been implanted in the holy personality of the Shāhīnshāh. And inasmuch as this laudable quality holds high rank among the outwardly great, how can the majesty thereof be reckoned when it occurs in the highflyers of the spiritual world, and the high-thoughted and wide of capacity who have combined the leadership of both conditions—as is the case revealed by the lustrous brow of the world's lord!

Verse.

My words have risen high ; me fears
A portion¹ of them may leap from my mouth.
The roadster of discourse is grown impetuous ;
Me fears, the reins may spring from my hand.

¹ Possibly, instead of *jazūī* we should read *jazda*, a cricket, and also a whisper.

CHAPTER XXXI.

BEGINNING OF THE 21ST DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION OF
THE SHĀHINSHĀH, viz., THE YEAR ĀZAR OF THE SECOND CYCLE.

In this spring-time of increasing justice the equable vernal breeze began to blow. The outer world acquired freshness just as did the city of the soul of the Khusrū of horizons.

Verse.

The zephyr adorned the garden of the world with verdure,
The earth appeared a model of the meadows of the other
world.

Where is Majnūn that he may petition and see
The beauteous hall, and the loveliness of Laila?

On the night of Sunday 9 Zīlḥajja (11 March 1576), after passing of one hour and nineteen minutes, the physical and spiritual illuminator cast his glance on the Sign of Aries, and the 21st year of the second cycle began. At the banquet of sovereignty a spring-time without autumn showed its face from the picture-gallery of truth.

983

Verse.

God be praised for this movement of the zephyr.
What limits are there to His gracious works?
They send gifts to eye and heart,
They are protagonists of life and growth.

In the beginning of this year H.M. gave his attention to the augmentation of the repose of the inhabitants of Gujarat. From the time when M. Koka had from inauspicious fortune gone astray, and the physician of the horizons (Akbar) had restrained him from office and sent him to the school for learning wisdom, it had been in the secret chambers of his heart that if the Mīrzā awoke from his somnolence and took the path of bliss he would send him away to protect that country. As the time for that had not arrived, M. Khān, Wazīr

166 Khān, Mīr ‘Alā‘u-d-daula, Saiyid Moḡaffar, and Bipāk¹ Dās, each of whom was distinguished in his own line, were sent to protect property, life, honour and religion—which sum up the possessions of mortals—and to compose the distractions of the country. Their external rank was exalted by glorious favours, and they were also the recipients of precious jewels of instruction. The government of the province was entrusted to Mīrzā Khān, while the administration was committed to the weighty judgment of Wazīr Khān. Mīr ‘Alā‘u-d-daula was made Amīn, and Bipāk Dās was appointed Dīwān. Mīr Moḡaffar was made Bakhshī of the armies. The above-mentioned officers went there, and in a short space of time the country became peaceful.

Among the occurrences was the despatch of an army against the Rānā.

The choicest worship for the social state, from which the lamp of recluses gets light—is when majestic rulers obliterate the darkness of the desert of presumption by the effulgence of farseeing wisdom and the flashes of the world-adorning sword, and cause the stiff-necked wayfarers of the lanes of pride to journey to the city of supplication. And if the ill-fate of men of this class have been confirmed, great rulers cleanse the earth from the rubbish of their existence, for most evil-doers are of a wicked nature, though some are only foolish, so that they may obtain their deserts, and mortals their repose, and that every one may, under the shade of peace, make his own fashion of Divine worship, and his customs a means of thanksgiving; thus may the outer world acquire repose and adornment, and the spiritual world set its face towards increase and development.

In accordance with these views, as the disobedience and presumption of the Rānā, as well as his deceit and dissimulation had exceeded all bounds, H.M. addressed himself to his overthrow. Kuar Mān Singh, who was among the first in the court for wisdom, loyalty and bravery, and who, among other favours, had been granted the lofty title of *farzand* (child), was nominated for this service. On the day

¹ The Lucknow edition has Pīyāg Dās. The Iqbāl-nāma has Pāk Dās, and it appears that this is the real

name and that the ‘b’ is the preposition.

of Dībādīn 23 Farwardīn, Divine month, corresponding to 2 Muḥar-
ram 984 (3 April 1576), he left Ajmere. Ghāzī Khān Badakhshī,
Khwāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī, 'Aṣaf Khān, Saiyid Aḥmad, Saiyid Hā-
shim Bārha, Jagannāth, Saiyid Rājū, Mihtar Khān, Mādhū Singh,
Mujāhid Beg, Khankār, Rai Lonkarn, and many other brave
officers went with him. From abundant graciousness H.M. briefly 167
and comprehensively reduced into writing instructions as to what
was proper with respect to temporal and spiritual matters.

Among the occurrences was that at this time M. Yūsuf Khān,
Masnad 'Alī Fath Khān, Saiyid Umr Bokhārī, Shaikh Muḥammad
Ghaznavī, and Saiyid Qāsim were sent to the Panjab so that that
province might become a place of increasing peace and tranquillity.

One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Siwāna,¹
one of the forts of Ajmere, and which was in possession of Candar
Sen, and was held for him by Patā Rāthor. As Shāh Qulī Khān
Maḥram and Rai Rai Singh did not conduct the army properly, the
horses became weak, and the want of barley and forage distressed
the soldiers. In the first place Saiyid Aḥmad Saiyid Qāsim, Saiyid
Hāshim, Jalāl Khān, Shimāl Khān, and many other distinguished
combatants were appointed to endeavour to take the fort, while the
former were to hasten to court. The officers proceeded to their fiefs
and set about collecting equipments. Meanwhile the catastrophe of
Jalāl Khān occurred, and the stubborn ones of the country raised
the head of commotion. Especially did Kalā, the son of Rām Rai
and grandson of Rai Māldeo, and many of the disaffected assemble
in the fort of Deokūr.² The Saiyids of Bārha and other leaders
exerted themselves to put down those wicked men, and so the busi-
ness of Siwāna dragged on. Accordingly Shahbāz³ Khān was ap-
pointed from the court to bring the thing to an end, and then to re-
turn to court. When he came near the spot he learnt that the army
were perplexed about the siege of the fort, and that the affair was
difficult on account of a succession of troubles and great fights.
Shahbāz Khān arrived, and immediately set about taking the fort.
By the celestial help which befriends the strenuous and the pure of

¹ J. II, 276. It is there entered
as in Sarkār Jodhpūr.

² B. 399, n. 1. Perhaps the Deo-
gāon of J. II, 273.

³ His real name was Shāh Ullah.
See Badāyūni II, 171. Lowe 174.
This explains the pun at p. 333 of
Lowe.

heart, victory showed herself, and a large number of the enemy were annihilated, and the fort was taken. The rebels were caught, and Shahbāz Khān having left some of the Saiyids of Bārha in the place (*thāna*), addressed himself to the conquest of Siwāna. Seven kos from that fort there was a stone fort called Dūnāra.¹ When the army was crossing (the Lūnī) near it, the Rajputs of the Rāthor clan assembled and displayed haughtiness. Though the highway of obedience was indicated to them, it was of no avail, and it was necessary to take the fort. *Sābāts* were made, and in a short time that strong fort was taken. The blood of many of the audacious ones was spilt on the dust of disgrace, and this great success was a preamble to the conquest of Siwāna, and was a cause of increasing the dismay of the wicked. From there Shahbāz Khān proceeded to take Siwāna, while

168 he sent the former army (*lashkar-pesh*, i.e., the army that had failed) to court. In making *sābāts* and in the disposition of materials for the untying of this apparently difficult knot hand and heart were combined, and skill joined with valour. In a short space of time the garrison sought protection and made over the fort to the loyal and hastened to prostrate themselves at the threshold of fortune. They did this while the imperial standards were at Ajmere, and were received with royal favours. When the affairs of this province had been completed H. M. proceeded on the day of Khūr 15 Ardībihisht from Ajmere to the capital, and on the day of Bād 22 Ardībihisht he reached Fathpūr. He applied himself more than ever to affairs which brightened the world, and the rose-garden of the world attained fresh verdure.

One of the events was the appointment of the army of Bihar to the province of Bengal. It has already been mentioned that the world-subduing armies had, after the taking of Garhī, confronted the enemy at Ākmaḥal. From that time news was continually conveyed backwards and forwards by relays of mounted couriers. At this time news was brought that the rainy season, which is tempestuous in that province, had arrived, and that if a fresh army were appointed, the conquest of Bengal would be easily effected. Accordingly an order was issued to Mozaffar Khān and the other officers of Bihar that they should put their army in order and proceed to Bengal.

¹ The text has Dūbāna, but there is the variant Dunār. It lies on the right bank Lūnī, S.W. Jodhpūr.